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CONTENTS

THE NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENT 201

By Sir Harold Russell

SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS: AN
APPROACH TOWARDS ACHIEVING GREATER
UNDERSTANDING 213

By Z. M. T. Tarkenton and Avice V. Turnbull

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF DELEGATED LEGIS-
LATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND 257

By S. A. Walkind

THE EFFECT OF RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES
ON THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE FEDERATION
OF MALAYA AND SINGAPORE 267

By T. E. Smith, O.B.E.

THE FUTURE PATTERN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN
ENGLAND AND WALES 275

By Dudley Lofa

THE PROFESSION OF GOVERNMENT 293

By Nevil Johnson

THE YOUNGHUSBAND REPORT ON SOCIAL WORKERS 299

By Una Cormack

QUARTERLY NOTES 305

Barrister Town Clerk; Public Libraries—A New Look;
Abstract of Accounts: Coventry and Manchester,
1957-58

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NOTES

<i>Correspondence</i>	309
<i>Obituary : A. J. Waldegrave</i>	310
<i>Institute News</i>	311

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>The Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation</i> (Sir Gilmour Jenkins, K.C.B.)	The Rt. Hon. Lord Hurcomb, G.C.B., K.B.E.	312
<i>The Landmarks of Tomorrow</i> (Peter F. Drucker)	Sir Henry Self, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.B.E.	314
<i>Contempt of Court</i> (Lord Shawcross)	Professor H. Street	315
<i>American Constitutional Law</i> (R. J. Tresolini)	Professor H. Street	315
<i>Philanthropy in England : 1480-1660</i> (Professor W. K. Jordan)	R. C. Jarvis	316
<i>Principles of Local Government Law</i> (C. A. Cross)	B. Keith-Lucas	318
<i>The Constitution and Powers of Parish Councils and Parish Meetings</i> (Charles Arnold-Baker)	B. Keith-Lucas	319
<i>The Spirit of British Administration</i> (S. H. Sisson)	N. Johnson	319
<i>The Welfare State in New Zealand</i> (J. B. Condliffe)	Peter Campbell	320
<i>The Civil Service in India</i> (Naresh Chandra Roy)	} Frank Dunnill	321
<i>Role of the Higher Civil Service in India</i> (R. Dwarkadas)		
<i>Book Notes</i>		323
<i>Recent Government Publications</i>		325

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The New Relations Between Central and Local Government

By SIR HAROLD BANWELL

This lecture by the Secretary to the Association of Municipal Corporations was given to the Royal Institute of Public Administration in London on the 3rd March 1959

THE title of this lecture springs from a statement made in the House of Commons on 12th February 1957 by the Minister of Housing and Local Government, Mr Henry Brooke, when he said that the Government had completed its review of local government finance and that it was essential to improve the financial relationship between central and local government. He added: "... I am sure that the greater the independence of local authorities in the raising and spending of their money, the better for the good health of local government." He went on to say that, with a few exceptions, specific grants would be replaced by a general grant, and continued: "... With this change, local authorities will acquire a great increase of responsibility in determining the money to be spent on the various services, in accordance with local needs. Local government will become more truly local. Our aim is to foster and stimulate a vigorous and independent local government, and to give members of councils a greater incentive to take a lively interest in their local expenditure by placing much more of it under their own control."

The discussions with the Local Authorities, the Bill which followed and now the Local Government Act 1958, were directed towards this end—a vigorous and independent local government. It yet remains to be seen whether the good intentions of this statement will be achieved. Insofar as the amount of the new general grant is a test of sincerity, the Government has done all that it said it would do. What remains to be seen is whether the departments generally are going to be as willing as the Minister of Housing and Local Government to loosen their hold on the reins.

The discussions which the Minister promised in his statement took place and in July 1957 a White Paper (Cmd. 209)—Local Government Finance in England and Wales—was published. It is important that in our consideration of this subject we should not overlook parts of this White Paper. First, here is a quotation from paragraph 3:

"In brief, the Government do not think it practicable to devise a satisfactory new source of local revenue by authorising the collection of a local income tax or other such impost on top of the national system of taxes; nor do they think it appropriate to earmark for the direct benefit of Local Authorities, or to hand over to them, the motor duties or any other of the taxes now levied nationally. In their view, improvement of the system of local finance in this country must come from improvement of the system of local taxation which is traditionally the right of Local Authorities, combined with a radical recasting of the system of grants. The kind of improvement in grants which is needed is one which secures

that a substantially larger part of the grant-aid is in the form of general assistance and is not tied (as is so much of the present Exchequer aid) to specific services and expressed as a percentage of expenditure upon these services. The present system of percentage grants acts as an indiscriminating incentive to further expenditure and also carries with it an aggravating amount of central checking and control of detail. The importance to local government of reducing its dependence on percentage grants has been a major factor in the Government's proposals as outlined in this Paper."

I hope you noticed the sentence: "... The kind of improvement in grants which is needed is one which secures that a substantially larger part of the grant-aid is in the form of general assistance and is not tied (as is so much of the present Exchequer aid) to specific services and expressed as a percentage of expenditure upon these services."

I want you also to note paragraph 5, which reads as follows:

"5. A main aim of the proposed changes has been to increase the independence of Local Authorities in the raising and the spending of their money so far as it is practicable to do so. Since the First Report of the Local Government Manpower Committee in December 1949, it has been a declared objective of Governments to simplify and reduce Departmental control, on the view that 'local authorities are responsible bodies competent to discharge their own functions and . . . they exercise their responsibilities in their own right. . . . It follows that the objective should be to leave as much as possible of the detailed management of a scheme or service to the Local Authority and to concentrate the Department's control at the key points where it can most effectively discharge its responsibilities for Government policy and financial administration.' The grant changes outlined below are an important step towards this accepted purpose. The representatives of Local Authorities have suggested that since the object of the Government is to strengthen the independence of Local Authorities, the opportunity should be taken to carry out a fresh review of the controls which the central Government exercise over local government (a review including but not limited to the controls associated with the grant structure). The Government accept the proposal and are arranging for a review accordingly."

In this paragraph there are two points worthy of comment—one is the reference to the declared objective of the Local Government Manpower Committee, an objective declared in 1949, but up to the present by no means carried out. The second is the reference to a review of controls, which you will notice is expressly referred to as not being limited to the controls associated with the grants structure. In other words, we are entitled to expect an alleviation of the controls even in regard to those services in respect of which a percentage grant is still retained.

Although it may be said not to be directly concerned with the question of controls, paragraph 6 is significant because by increasing Local Authorities' independent income, they are, in fact, made more independent. Here it is:

" 6. While grants and rates (in that order) are the two main constituents of local finance, the contribution made by charges for licences, fees and other miscellaneous income is appreciable and must not be overlooked. Insofar as such charges are statutory and have not been revised in tune with modern conditions, the legislation may need to be amended when opportunity offers. That is not further examined here."

May I add that on this subject the departments have shown considerable reluctance in bringing fees, &c., up to present-day values. This no doubt has been influenced by the desire to keep down prices, but it is detrimental to the independence of the Local Authorities.

In case, however, local government should have any overrated notions of its own importance, the White Paper makes it clear that the Government must still remain responsible for laying down national policy. Here is paragraph 13 :

" 13. While a greater measure of local financial independence is a primary purpose of the changes in the grant system, the Government must still remain responsible for laying down national policy and for ensuring compliance with basic standards in the several services which are aided by grants. Controls for this purpose will be limited to the 'key points' of a service, which, in the deliberations of the Local Government Manpower Committee, were recognized to be properly the responsibility of the central Department. Though for this purpose basic standards may be prescribed, the maximum local discretion will be given in the method of providing the service: the reward of efficiency will accrue wholly to the benefit of the local population."

In any attempt to interpret the Government's views on local government, it is, I think, important not to overlook the concluding paragraph (36) :

" 36. As indicated earlier, successive Governments since the war have subscribed to a policy of giving greater freedom to Local Authorities from central control. But it has not yet been made a sufficient reality. The Government understand the anxieties of those concerned for the development of particular local government services who fear that, without the stimulus of specific percentage grants, some Local Authorities may not spend upon these services as much as they otherwise would. But the Government believe that the best contribution they can make towards improving the quality of local government services is to improve the quality of local government; and they are convinced that greater independence and freedom from detailed central control is essential to this. They believe that these financial proposals, taken together with the proposals for reorganization, will give to Local Authorities a new opportunity for responsible and worthwhile work; and they are confident that Local Authorities will respond to the opportunity."

In the debate on the White Papers relating to the Areas, Status, Functions, and Finance of Local Authorities in England and Wales (Cmd. 9831, Cmd. 161 and 209), which took place in the House of Commons on 29th and

30th July 1957, the Minister added some very interesting comments. I want to remind you of one or two of these :

" . . . I said that Local Authorities need to be more independent both in the raising and spending of their money ; and unless we can increase this financial independence, no reorganization of areas and functions will be really effective. . . ."

" . . . Local government means, or should mean, local responsibility. Subject to national standards, certainly, with central government assistance, certainly. But, ultimately, local choice to determine how best to spend one's money and local responsibility for reckoning the cost. All this is fundamental to our ideas for the future of local government. It points towards more genuine local discretion, and it is local discretion of this sort that has, in past days, been the source of some of the most worthwhile advances in local government services. . . ."

Just one or two other sentences—a comment on the present position :

" . . . The Local Authority spends the money knowing that whatever it spends, so much per cent. will automatically be reimbursed by the Exchequer."

And this :

" . . . The Government now propose that the cornerstone of the structure of Exchequer aid should, in future, be a general grant. Percentage grants will only be retained when the general grant cannot be made to fit the needs." And again :

" . . . I simply do not accept that councillors are so reckless towards their responsibilities, so indifferent to the next council elections, and so careless of every consideration except the rates, that unless they are compelled by Whitehall to spend money they are certain to let their children, their sick people and their old people suffer, or, at any rate, suffer by comparison with those in other areas. If that were true, we had better abolish local government and have done with it ; but it is not true. These services have been developed by Local Authorities. Many of the most valuable new ideas have come from Local Authorities. Locally elected people do not (whatever Hon. Gentlemen opposite may say) need to be told all the time by some Minister or other what they ought to do and how they ought to do it. They need powers, resources, and freedom to exercise some initiative of their own, and these are what the Government intend to give them. . . ."

THIRTY YEARS OF RESTRAINT

There is not the slightest doubt that if local government is to be more independent, and by that I mean have a greater freedom to decide its own actions and to express local ideas within the limits of national policy, then two things are essential. One is the necessary financial resources, and the second is freedom from detailed control either by means of finance or in any other way. I hope to pursue these two points a little later on, but I want first to look at the conditions under which Local Authorities have

been working for the past 25 years. These have helped to fashion the present-day outlook and we should be making a great mistake if we considered "new" relations without bearing in mind the influence of our "upbringing."

I imagine that we all agree that the control exercised centrally nowadays is far too detailed, but how has it come about? The original controls of the long distant past were generally directed towards securing that the Local Authorities' general financial position was sound, that minimum standards were observed, and that expenditure was within the law. There was, in fact, a minimum of central control with a wide discretion to Local Authorities. Some of the devices used were, for example, the restriction by way of maximum rate poundage of expenditure on a particular subject, the limitation of borrowing powers, the necessity for local inquiries on most schemes involving capital expenditure, the systems of inspection which were applied to the education and police services, and district audit. But in looking at the past for a short while, it is interesting first of all to note that since the taking over on 1st April 1930 of the administration of the poor law by Local Authorities under the Local Government Act, 1929, Local Authorities have hardly ever been free from restriction upon their expenditure. May I also remind you that it was this Act which first recognized the fundamentals of freedom about which we are now talking and made the first bold experiment of providing a general grant instead of percentage grants based on expenditure. As most of you know, this experiment was never wholly completed because of the outbreak of war in 1939. Within one might say a stone's throw of the transfer of the poor law in 1930, the Committee on Local Expenditure (England and Wales) was set up (known as the Ray Committee) and subsequently issued its famous report. This led to the cutting down of expenditure, particularly capital expenditure, by Local Authorities, and resulted, at the passing of the National Health Service Act, 1946, in unfair criticism of Local Authorities for their failure to develop the hospital services. From 1930 onwards the short answer to that suggestion is that they were not allowed to spend the money which they wanted to. I was serving with Local Authorities in those days and had experience of this.

By 1938 the country had to turn its attention to armaments and thereafter the whole of the country's efforts were directed towards a successful conclusion of the war. When the war ended expenditure generally remained under central control and since then we have proceeded from one financial crisis to another with, one might almost say, monotonous regularity. This means, in broad terms, that we have had nearly 30 years of restraint and control, in which it has been almost impossible for Local Authorities to develop on their own and in their own way—to develop that sense of independence about which we are now talking. We have had almost a generation and a half in which we have not been able to act or think independently. During the war years central direction was gladly accepted as part of the common purpose and we have to face the fact, whether we like it or not, that both central and local government got used to it, and in some respects rather liked it! We all developed an attitude of mind for the purpose of the war which we have found it hard to throw off, and it is good for all of us that a government

has at last said that this is not the way to conduct our affairs and that it is time that local government had views of its own and was given the freedom and the means of expressing them.

OTHER CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

As the war came to an end, there was an urge to place greater responsibility upon the central government for some of the social services. And this developed in a form which made direction from the centre more than ever necessary. We therefore have experienced a combination of ideas antagonistic to independence—central direction fostered before the war and extensively expanded during the war and then after the war the formation of national patterns.

The fact that the central government started to take a greater interest in the social services is perhaps a compliment to local government, but it has brought with it an increasing desire to lay down standards at the centre—and direction and control are the easiest means of doing this. A further factor in relation to common standards which we should not overlook is the advance made in these same years in means of communication, and the sense in which we are all nearer to each other than we ever were before. This has brought with it a more critical examination of standards and an unwillingness to accept one standard in one place and another elsewhere.

Perhaps the most important single factor in relation to central control has been the modern view on national economic planning. Local Authorities have for 70 or 80 years been subject to a measure of central control in relation to their capital expenditure. Its modern development, however, is contained in the White Paper on Employment Policy (Cmd. 6527), which was issued by the Coalition Government in May 1944. Here for the first time it is declared that the capital expenditure of Local Authorities is to be one of the means by which the government of the day will maintain full employment. I want to read to you an extract from this White Paper because it is so often forgotten :

“62. Public investment can, however, be used more directly as an instrument of employment policy.

“Only a small proportion of public capital expenditure is undertaken by the central Government, by far the greater part being within the province of Local Authorities and public utility undertakings. In the past, capital expenditure by these authorities has generally followed the same trend as private capital expenditure—it has fallen in times of slump and risen in times of boom, and has tended therefore to accentuate the peaks and depressions of the trade cycle. In the future, Government policy will be directed to correcting this sympathetic movement. It should be possible for the Government to maintain the stability of public investment when private investment is beginning to fall off at the onset of a depression. But this may not be enough: for the purpose of maintaining general employment it is desirable that public investment should actually expand when private investment is declining and should contract in periods of boom. There are, however, practical limits to the extent to which

Government action can produce swings in public investment to offset such swings in private investment as it cannot prevent. Thus, a large part of the capital expenditure of public authorities—for example on housing, schools and hospitals—is dictated by urgent public needs, the satisfaction of which cannot readily be postponed to serve the purposes of employment policy. And, in the other direction, the Government could not compel substantial acceleration of the capital programmes of these public authorities without much more power of direction than they now possess. There are, therefore, limits to the policy ; but within those limits the Government believe that they can influence public capital expenditure to an extent which will be of material value for the purpose of maintaining employment.

“ 63. The procedure which the Government have in mind is as follows. All Local Authorities will submit annually to the appropriate Department their programme of capital expenditure for the next five years. For the first of those years, at least, the plans will have been worked out in all details and will be ready for immediate operation ; for the later years they will naturally be increasingly tentative and provisional. These programmes will then be assembled by an appropriate co-ordinating body under Ministers and will be adjusted, upward or downward, in the light of the latest information on the prospective employment situation. If this entails a slowing down of programmes, adequate powers, through the withholding of loan sanctions or grants, are ready to hand. If it entails an acceleration, the Government will, by granting loan sanctions or otherwise facilitating finance, bring forward projects which otherwise might have had to wait for a later opportunity.

“ The Government are considering the lines on which this procedure can be applied to the programming of capital expenditure by public utility companies.

“ The machinery envisaged in this paragraph will enable the Government to set each year a target for the whole volume of public works in the succeeding year.”

In other words, governments are saying that they are going to turn on and off the “ tap ” of capital expenditure by Local Authorities as one of the factors in maintaining employment. This paper was published by a Coalition Government and can therefore be said to represent the views of both main political parties and has certainly been used by Governments of both parties in power since the end of the war.

Another contributory cause of the dependence of local government upon central government was unquestionably the control of building resources. This was brought into operation as a war-time measure and continued until 1954. It is true that this applied to all forms of building and was not limited to Local Authorities, but it was used to control their activities. There have even been occasional threats to restore this form of control. Parliament itself is not wholly free from blame. There is a tendency to bring before the House of Commons many questions which could only be answered locally

and which are, under the direction of Parliament itself, the responsibility of local government. The Minister who is bold enough so to reply was at one time very rare, although I am glad to notice that there has been an improvement in the last few years. But Members of Parliament still seem to reproach a Minister who will not accept responsibility for a task placed upon Local Authorities by Parliament itself or will not give directions to the Local Authorities. In other words, they seem to encourage the central government to interfere when in effect the responsibility is that of local government.

While all these factors have contributed towards a "control" mentality, the position of the Local Authorities in relation to their financial resources has not been very happy. The activities and particularly the independence of Local Authorities have been profoundly affected by the continued reduction in their only independent source of income—the rateable value of occupied property and the rate income derived therefrom. In one form or another, during almost the whole of the period since 1914, the Rent Restriction Acts have been in operation. In other words, there has been no free market in dwellinghouses. This means that there has been no free market in rents with the consequence that the rateable value of dwellinghouses has remained at an unrealistically low level. As you know, the Government has only in the last few days stated that the free market in rents is not yet large enough to justify a proper valuation of dwellinghouses. And so we shall continue for a number of years to come on a value which at present is pegged at 1939 values; in other words, pegged to a £ with a comparable value today of 7s. If you will bear in mind, according to a recent statement in the House of Commons, that the rateable value of dwellinghouses represents 52 per cent. of the total rateable value of the whole of England and Wales, you can appreciate how serious has been the effect upon the freedom of Local Authorities. As if that was not sufficient in itself, the Government has from time to time made deliberate inroads into the total rateable value as an act of national policy—agricultural land was totally de-rated in 1929; industry was de-rated as to 75 per cent. in 1930 and not until April will 25 per cent. be restored. When, in an attempt to return to sanity, the Government decided to revalue commercial premises, which it did successfully in 1956, and brought them up to current market values, it quickly repented of its good sense and the following year reduced the values on these premises by 20 per cent. This reduction still remains in force. By an earlier Act of 1955, concessions were made to charities, again at the expense of rateable value.

It may well be that in the national interest these concessions are justified, but if they are given in the national interest then it is not reasonable that the whole of the financial loss should be borne by the Local Authorities. It is true that at the time of the original block grant some contribution was made in lieu of the loss on industrial premises, but this idea has not been repeated. This rateable value represents the means of raising income which is free from government control. To the extent that the resources of local government are diminished in this way, then it is surely the responsibility of the Government of the day to provide equivalent resources to Local Councils equally free from control. It is no good blaming Local Authorities

THE NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

for the fact that they are taking larger proportions of their income from grants than in years gone by when the Government itself has deprived them of the resources from which they could obtain free income.

Now let us consider the two essential ingredients to the freedom of Local Authorities. The first—financial resources—and the second—freedom from detailed control. I think I have said enough already about financial resources. I personally am one of those who accept the view of the Government that substantial alternative forms of income for Local Authorities are not available in this country, but I think this means that larger contributions from the Exchequer must be given which shall not be regarded as grants of grace by the Government, but as the legitimate income of the Local Authority to use for the performance of its statutory duties without central control.

FREEDOM FROM DETAILED CONTROL

As regards freedom from detailed control, there are two broad methods by which control is now achieved—by finance—and by approved schemes. Even financial control has to be divided into capital control and the control exercised in regard to approved estimates. As regards capital control, I think I have indicated to you that this has long been used in local government and apart from any other reasons has come to stay as part of employment policy. Inasfar as this is limited to turning on and off the tap, it is difficult for Local Authorities, as they spend such a substantial portion of public capital expenditure, to raise objection. It has, however, been used in the past as a means of controlling the details of schemes which were submitted merely for loan approval and I therefore say, as a first step, that this is the kind of control which has got to be removed or considerably curtailed.

As regards expenditure on approved estimates, here the Government itself is in difficulty. For the purposes of the Budget it must estimate the figure of expenditure over the ensuing financial year and it is not unreasonable to expect Local Authorities to provide their estimates from which the total can be made up. But from this it is easy to slip into approval in detail of expenditure. If there is the slightest variation in an annual estimate and you want to spend more on one subject and less on another, it can now lead to endless administrative work, argument and delay. This should be abolished and approval of a lump sum to cover the year substituted.

There is also the form of control by the approval of schemes. This operates at the present time, e.g. under the National Health Service Act, Local Authorities can provide additional services only if they have so expressed their intention in a scheme and the scheme has been approved by the Ministry. If therefore a Local Council wishes to provide an additional service, it has to obtain the approval of the Government Department concerned. Insofar as this was necessary to control extravagance under a system of specific grants, the device has outlived its purpose with the introduction of the general grant. If, on the other hand, it was intended to ensure that every Council reached a minimum standard of provision in any particular branch of a service, again, it has served its purpose and could be dropped because all the Local Authorities have their services in full working order, and in any

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

event the fact that a particular item was included in a scheme has never in itself ensured that the Local Council has put the proposal into effect.

THE NEW RELATIONS

The most important thing, however, to establish, in accordance with the title of this lecture—"The New Relations between Central and Local Government"—is a new attitude of mind on both sides and I say quite deliberately, on both sides. It is useless for Local Authorities to complain about the detailed control which the central government has been exercising over their affairs for a variety of reasons over the last 30 years if they themselves are not prepared to take the responsibility of public expenditure without the assurance of a grant from the central government towards every penny which they spend. There has unquestionably grown up over the years too much love of detailed control on the one side and too great a readiness to ask for money on the other.

It is also clear that some Local Authorities like to be told what to do and to shrink from the responsibility of making up their minds. Some of them are still more willing that their neighbours should be told what to do! What is it that we are really seeking—that Local Authorities are the agents of the central government, or the partners of the central government? Are Local Authorities merely to be the agency for spending the collective resources of the community under the direction of the central government, or are they to be independent partners with resources within their own control and able to stand on their own feet? In this connection it is not out of place to point out that the proportion of the national income now expended in rates has fallen considerably as compared with the period before the war.

There is one other aspect of partnership between central and local government which should not be overlooked, and that is the effect of the introduction of party politics into local government. Insofar as this is a means of appealing to the local electorate, then in my view it is for the good of local government, but if once in power locally a political party uses local government for the purpose of national party politics, then in the long run it would cause the disappearance of independent local government as we know it now. Our governmental system is based on the will of Parliament, and this, in effect, means the will of the Government of the day, which is in power as a result of the decision of the people as a whole. If local government is not prepared to act within the climate of public opinion as expressed by the Government of the day, and this might well follow from putting party politics before local government in local affairs, then it seems to me that no Government, however constituted, would permit such a state of affairs to exist for very long. Before long we should find that Local Authorities had become merely agents of the central government.

Given the right attitude on both sides then I feel that much could be achieved, but we must face one or two facts. The first is that government control over capital expenditure is going to remain for many years and is obviously going to be used as a deliberate part of the policy to maintain employment. That being the case, this form of approval will have to remain,

THE NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

but what we have to see is that in building up our new relationship, it is exercised for that purpose and not for the purpose of exercising detailed control over the projects which the local authority has in mind. In addition to this, we have to face the fact that in post-war legislation, a Minister of the Crown has been given the statutory responsibility for maintaining the standard of a particular service. Local Authorities therefore cannot complain if the central government takes such steps as are necessary to maintain those standards. It is in this respect that I think the central government has failed in the past. It has been much more prepared to direct in detail than to work out, with the Local Authorities, suitable standards.

The independence of local government is probably its greatest strength but in dealing with the central government it is one of its weaknesses. There has not been enough investigation by Government Departments carried out in conjunction with Local Authorities themselves into the work undertaken by Local Authorities. Too often when a difficulty has arisen, an independent inquiry of some form has taken place which appeared to be, as it were, "sitting in judgment" on a Local Authority when what was required was a good practical working party composed of people who were actually doing the job who together with central government representatives acting, if you like, as co-ordinators, could have made practical suggestions to meet the difficulty. This kind of action would, I am sure, produce a ready response from Local Authorities. Although I believe that reasonable tension between central and local government is desirable and is in the best interests of the public, we both exist primarily to provide services for the public. We have to do a job—we should do it together more often than we have done in the past. We want a combination of the general view which only the civil servants can obtain and the good practical day-to-day view which is the peculiar province of the local government officer. There has been far too great a tendency over the years for the central government to tell Local Authorities what to do rather than to sit down with them and find out what was the best thing to do.

The second point which needs investigation is the extent to which, working with the Local Authorities, useful yardsticks of cost or standards of design can be produced, by which at least Local Authorities can measure their own efforts. The central government has the advantage that it can look at the whole of the country, it can obtain information from all the Local Authorities, and it can, and should, be used as a means of obtaining information for the benefit of Local Authorities generally rather than to use against them. In saying this, however, I want to point out the dangerous tendency of so many Government Departments to expect every Local Authority to act in the same way. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government are outstandingly free from this tendency. They have learned by experience that the diversity of local government practice is one of its great attributes and that it does not necessarily follow because two Local Authorities do the same thing in different ways that either of them is wrong.

It would be quite wrong to think that merely by substituting a general grant for certain specific percentage grants, everything is going to be altered

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

in the course of a few weeks. The consideration of the controls exercised in all the local government services is a task of great magnitude. It is now being undertaken but has not yet reached a stage when it can be talked about publicly. I have no doubt that much of the annoying detail will be removed but I am equally certain that the central government will still wish to retain controls which Local Authorities will not like. This is something about which there will probably have to be many a battle over the next few years but the right result will not be achieved unless Local Authorities give up their attitude that every time they spend money there must be a contribution from the central government, and until the Government Departments recognize that, in the words of the Manpower Committee's Report, "local authorities are responsible bodies competent to discharge their own functions . . ." and are willing to let them discharge them in a way different from that which they would have chosen themselves.

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Scientists Versus Administrators: An Approach Towards Achieving Greater Understanding

By Z. M. T. TARKOWSKI and AVICE V. TURNBULL

Mr Tarkowski, a consultant in training, has been advising a number of organizations. His contribution is in the psychological and sociological analysis of some managerial and administrative problems, more particularly in the organization of scientific research. He has been developing a new approach in the field of preparation of case studies and of certain training methods aimed towards the solution of these problems. Mr Tarkowski has been instrumental in the introduction of a number of improvements into certain training techniques used at the Training and Education Division of H.M. Treasury.

Miss Turnbull, a Tutor in the Division, now temporarily attached to the Royal Institute of Public Administration has been specially concerned with the development and improvement of a number of training techniques, and of new types of case studies used for training purposes. She has been collaborating closely for some time with Mr Tarkowski on a number of training problems, both in the Civil Service and in industry.

The article expresses personal views of the authors and should not necessarily be taken as representing the official views of the Training and Education Division of H.M. Treasury.

INTRODUCTION

IT is well known that professional scientists and professional administrators often lack sympathy for each other's point of view. The problem seems to be felt in many countries of the world, in industry as well as in public administration.¹ Its magnitude and importance seem to be sufficiently pressing for the European Productivity Agency of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation to be considering at the moment a project for organizing a series of international seminars and courses on this particular topic and the possible establishment of an international institution to investigate the problem.²

¹In a recent book the importance of this problem has been clearly emphasized: See E. McCrensky, *Scientific Manpower in Europe, A Comparative Study of Scientific Manpower in the Public Service in Great Britain and Selected European Countries* (Pergamon Press, London, &c.), 1958. A brief discussion is also given in George W. Howard, *Common Sense in Research and Development Management* (Vantage Press, New York), 1954. A wealth of pertinent observations is contained in *Human Relations in Industrial Research Management*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1957, edited by Robert Teviot Livingston and Stanley H. Milberg. An interesting analysis of the social structure and attitudes manifest among scientists is given by R. L. Meier, "Research as a Social Process: Social Status, Specialization and Technological Advance in Great Britain," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1957.

²To quote from a circular (9th July 1959, E.P.A. project 5/28): "The need arises from the growth in Europe both of the number of research institutions and of their size and complexity. In some cases difficulties have arisen because scientific directors lack business and administrative training; in others because business administrators lack sympathy with the scientist and his method of approach."

The extent to which this lack of sympathy is apparent seems to depend in some measure on the size of the organization. It would appear that, broadly speaking, some of the larger institutions, government departments and some of the larger firms having their own research establishments suffer more from these difficulties than do the smaller ones.³ The problem affects very seriously the question of planning and estimates, budgeting for research and effective financial control. Its neglect may result in very inefficient spending. A very clear analysis was given by D. R. Willson,⁴ the Technical Secretary at the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell.

The issue seems to be a particular instance of a wider and more general phenomenon of the lack of sympathy often to be observed between members of various professional groups having to work side by side in one organization. For example, various departmental specialists such as medical officers, architects, engineers and lawyers often differ considerably from the members of the Administrative Class in their attitudes to problems in hand. The results may vary from lack of co-operation, due to absence of interest or understanding, to occasional open clashes.

In industry there are well-known differences in the points of view between sales and production,⁵ advertising and research personnel, and many other groups. Still another type of barrier or of lack of understanding is well known in any organization spread geographically over a large territory. This barrier consists in the differences of attitudes between the staff at the headquarters and at the out-stations or branches.

The present article is primarily concerned with a method of bringing about greater understanding within the British Civil Service between the members of the Administrative Class and of the Scientific Officer Class. The same approach, however, seems to be capable of extensions and modifications so that it could be used to reduce barriers and lack of sympathy between representatives of any other professions, or between any other groups of staff. The method is based on the previous work and experience of the authors,⁶ not only at the Training and Education Division, but also in industry and at the Northampton College of Advanced Technology,

³Some aspects of the differences between large and small research establishments and the importance of human relations have been discussed by Sir John D. Cockcroft, "The Organization of a Research and Development Establishment," *Occupational Psychology*, No. 27, July 1953.

⁴See D. R. Willson, *Budgets and Administrative Controls*, The Direction of Research Establishments, Proceedings of a Symposium held at the National Physical Laboratory, D.S.I.R. (H.M.S.O., London), 1957.

⁵See, for example, E. F. L. Brech, *Organization: The Framework of Management* (Longmans, Green, London), 1957.

⁶See, for example, Avic V. Turnbull, "The Use of Case Studies in the British Civil Service," *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, Summer 1957; "Techniques of Training in Human Relations," *BACIE Journal*, British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education, Vol. 12, No. 3, October 1958. Also, Z. M. T. Tarkowski, "Training in Human Relations," *BACIE Journal*, British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education, Vol. 12, Nos. 1 and 2, March and June 1958; "Understanding the Behaviour of People at Work," reprinted from *Engineering*, London, January-June 1958.

SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS

London, where a new type of training course has recently been organized. The method has been, however, largely developed at the Treasury and was used for the first time at the conferences for senior members of scientific and administrative staff.

It will therefore be convenient at this stage to give a brief account of these conferences, before examining the nature of the problem and its effects in greater detail.

TREASURY CONFERENCES FOR SENIOR SCIENTISTS AND ADMINISTRATORS

For a number of years the Training and Education Division of H.M. Treasury has organized residential conferences on organization and management in the Civil Service.⁷ These are now held three times a year in a Cambridge college, or if taking place during term time, in an hotel or an industrial residential training establishment. Originally there were separate conferences for Assistant Secretaries with a slight admixture of members of professional classes of equivalent rank, and other conferences primarily for Deputy Chief Scientific Officers and Senior Principal Scientific Officers with a small proportion of other professional men and of administrators. More recently, conferences have been organized mainly for professional and scientific staff, and attention has been focused to a large extent on the question of organization and management of scientific or specialist work. One of the motives leading to this emphasis was a feeling that there is a need for management training to be provided for senior scientists and other specialists. Although this need appears to be felt in a number of other countries the step taken by the Treasury in organizing these conferences seems to have been in advance of facilities provided in other organizations and in other countries. It may be interesting to quote here from McCrensky:⁸

"The scientist to be capable of making a substantial contribution at the higher and top levels of government must at some point along the way of his career develop a keen appreciation of over-all management policies, principles of administration, and the skill of dealing with other people. He must become conscious of and learn to handle more effectively the management responsibilities which he will assume as his position becomes more senior.

"In recognition of this, the British Civil Service, for example, is in the vanguard of not only the countries of Western Europe, but also the United States in doing something concrete toward meeting this kind of need. The Treasury has for the past few years run residential conferences at a country house or a Cambridge College, lasting eight days and attended by about twenty senior scientists, engineers, architects and administrators of senior rank."

A more recent development has been the mixing of all types of members, administrators, scientists and professional staff at each conference in approximately equal proportions. This has given an opportunity to discuss

⁷A brief account of these early conferences will be found in S. A. Bailey, "Training the Technician in Administrative Practices," *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, Winter 1955.

⁸See McCrensky, op. cit., p. 6.

the differences in attitude and the lack of mutual understanding noticeable between administrators and scientists or other specialists as part of the general question of management of personnel and of personal relations. The latter subject had been introduced some time before into the Treasury courses at Principal level, and had achieved sufficient success to have become a regular feature. The method of approach consisted of a combination of a case study discussion, conducted by one of the authors of this article (Avice V. Turnbull), and a lecture on human relations by the other author, the two items of the programme being very closely linked together. A third item in this combined approach was a practical exercise in interviewing directly related both to the case study and to the lecture.⁹

The order of the sessions during the courses for Principals was as follows: the interview first, then case study discussion, with theoretical analysis last. It was decided to adopt at the residential conferences essentially the same approach, except that the practical exercise was omitted initially until it became clearer whether the method was going to be accepted favourably. In view of the encouraging reception of the case study, it has now been decided to introduce the practical exercise as well. The necessary briefs are being prepared whilst this article is being written.

The case study to be used at the residential conferences had to be designed to provide an introduction and an illustration to the problem of the lack of sympathy and understanding between administrators and scientists and to the related problem of personal relations both within and between the two groups. No suitable case study was in existence, and one of the authors of this article (Z. M. T. Tarkowski) suggested that a special one should be produced to suit the particular purpose. Thus there came into being a case study entitled *The Inter-Planetary Research Establishment* in two files, A and B. The full text of this study is given in Appendix I. Before describing the method of preparation of this case study and the way in which it is used, it is now necessary to examine in some detail the nature of the problem and its effects on efficiency.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

Amongst the main causes of the absence of understanding between administrators and scientists are the difficulties and barriers in communication, resulting in a lack of sympathy. Needless to say, this situation has an undesirable effect on the efficiency of budgeting and on the progress of research, which may be quite serious. Some of the issues, crucial to the present purpose, of this set of problems are examined briefly in the present and in the following section. These two sections cover, in an abbreviated form, the ground dealt with in a talk (by Z. M. T. Tarkowski) which is a part of the combined training technique. It will become obvious from later considerations that, from the training point of view, it is essential that this talk should come after the case study session. The subject of this talk can

⁹See Avice V. Turnbull, "Practice Interviewing by Role-Playing," *BACIE Journal*, British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education, Vol. 12, No. 2, June 1958. Also Z. M. T. Tarkowski, "Training in Interviewing," *News Letter of H.M. Treasury Training and Education Division*, No. 4, September 1958.

be briefly summarized as a discussion and a theoretical analysis of some of the psychological and sociological problems encountered in the organization of large-scale scientific research, and in the direction and supervision of scientific personnel engaged in original research work.

Some of the problems in question, in spite of possible appearances to the contrary, are rather subtle and elusive, and in order to highlight the salient points it will be necessary to overstate them. Thus the picture has been deliberately overdrawn. By and large, it will be true to say that the absence of sympathy and understanding between the scientist and the administrator is to a considerable extent due to differences in temperament in people who opt for one or other of these professions. These differences may be a powerful factor already in choosing the subject of academic study, and they often become reinforced by overspecialized education, and by the whole course of a man's career.

The lack of imagination, so often displayed by either side when dealing with the other, could be remedied, or at least minimized, by a suitable general education, or by appropriate training at a later stage. Regrettably, however, the existing educational system has the opposite effect, and the whole social climate tends to reinforce these distinctions.

As things stand, scientists and administrators do not even possess a common language in which to discuss their mutual problems, and the meaning of terms used by each side is very difficult for the other to understand. Members of the Administrative Class do not usually have an opportunity, either before or during their career, to acquire any direct experience of scientific research. This, in equal measure, applies to those of them who happen to possess a degree in science. Similarly, and again as a result of the fact that the whole society falls into distinct and separated groups, there is hardly any opportunity for the members of the Scientific Officer Class, either before or during their career, to acquire sufficient knowledge of the administrative machinery of government and of its constitutional framework, of the mechanism of public accountability, or of other administrative processes.

Generally speaking, there are no training facilities which would enable the scientists, either before or during their Civil Service career, to acquire some knowledge or experience, or even appreciation of the organization of large blocks of (in the British Civil Service meaning of these terms) Executive or Clerical work, or of the problems necessitating, and resulting from, contract procedure. Neither do they have any opportunity to become acquainted with, say, O & M work, or to learn at first hand about the traditions prevalent amongst the general Treasury classes. Similarly, there is hardly any formal provision for training as a result of which members of the Administrative Class could learn about the psychology of research, about scientific tradition or about the problems and vicissitudes of a research worker, either lone or embedded in a large organization. Such knowledge could be obtained only by having had practical experience of some form of research, however elementary, or through the study of biographies of scientists and of the history of science, and of human problems concomitant with scientific research. As a rule none of these is provided in a first degree course in any subject.

It is generally known—although practical implications from this knowledge are rarely drawn—that a research scientist, if he is to be successful, must have an absorbing and almost dedicated intellectual interest in his work for its own sake. It is seldom understood how much enthusiasm is needed, even if it be of a quiet and peaceful sort, to pursue a line of investigation. Nor is it understood often enough that intellectual interest and enthusiasm, whilst in need of being tempered and moderated in order not to be allowed to get out of hand, must at the same time be fed and sustained by continuous development and by sympathetic appreciation; otherwise it will peter out. In the case of a genuine and productive research scientist, in the field of applied as well as of fundamental work, the reward for his toils consists primarily in the continuous progress of an investigation, in the successful solution of small daily problems subsidiary to his main purpose. This does not mean at all that he must not be, or in fact is not, interested in anything else. If he is, however, to do really good work, his interest in the daily progress is bound to be so intense that frustrations or delays due to external circumstances become to him unavoidably a source of major irritation. In addition, if he is engaged in work of any importance, there will be other people somewhere else working on a similar or an identical problem, and it is essential for his scientific reputation that he should not be outstripped by competitors. The rivalry, rather than being personal, is often international, and the research worker concerned naturally believes, and often with justification, that he himself is best qualified to appreciate the economic, strategic or other advantages of his own results being obtained in advance of others. A scientist who has lost his intellectual interest and enthusiasm, his sense of urgency, and his scientific competitiveness is usually no longer creative.

By comparison, the main preoccupations of the administrator are quite different. If a senior man, he may in fact be an adviser of his Minister. However, even a more junior man who in reality has never had, or is not likely to have, personal discussions with his political chief, still thinks of himself in that role. The administrator, therefore, of any rank, is primarily concerned to protect his Minister, rather than to pursue things dear to his own heart. His preoccupation is to make sure that actions taken in his department should be justifiable and defensible in Parliament and before the public. In order to prevent what he considers to be mistakes, or even actions which he himself, his superiors, or his successors, might find difficult to justify, he spends considerable time thinking out all possible contingencies and repercussions, and the safeguards against them, and with experience of years, caution becomes to many second nature. He has to co-ordinate many diverse interests, such as political pressures, pressures from public bodies, requirements of the international situation, needs of industry, views of Service departments on matters of strategic importance, and many others. Needless to say, to the administrator justification of expenditure, estimates and economies are a source of constant concern.

It is thus natural that "the balanced view" becomes a watchword and that a judicial frame of mind is advocated. Quite often even contamination

by enthusiasm is avoided. Should an administrator lose his detached way of looking at problems and allow himself to be swayed too much by a particular interest he is in danger of coming to be regarded as unreliable.

These opposing attitudes have been drawn up rather sharply in the preceding paragraphs. There are many positions where, in order to be fully successful, it is necessary to combine the two frames of mind. For example, a scientist of senior rank who is in charge of several teams engaged in research must be able to acquire the administrator's caution and foresight, and his judicial frame of mind. At the same time, unless he can retain his original intellectual spontaneity and his passion for research, he is likely to become an obstruction, rather than to function effectively as a leader. Similarly, an administrator whose task it is to be responsible for some aspect of a research establishment will be a hindrance rather than a help if he does not acquire a degree of enthusiasm for the scientist's work, of intellectual curiosity in it, of sympathy and of understanding. At the same time, if he allows himself to be swayed too much by these factors, he may become instrumental in the research activities getting out of hand.

This attitude of poise, being a half-way house between enthusiasm and caution, is not easy to achieve. Young scientists frequently worship the very idea of research for its own sake and are often impervious to any other considerations, financial, economic, strategic or political. Similarly, people brought up and toughened in the administrative tradition and experience are distrustful of any form of enthusiasm and are sometimes even reluctant to enter into the spirit of research, in order to avoid being affected by it to the point of losing their detachment.

There are some further differences of attitude. An administrator approaches most problems in an hierarchical way of thinking. He asks usually at what level should a decision be taken and within whose terms of reference does it fall. Correctness of procedure, the respective seniorities of people, and the division of responsibilities amongst them matter greatly. The normal practice is to approach people at appropriate levels rather than to try to find, and to contact directly, someone whose knowledge of the problem is likely to be the greatest, independently of that person's status or exact terms of reference.

By comparison, cogent and intelligent reasoning, supported by reliable evidence, tends to be more convincing to a scientist than considerations of protocol, procedure, or correct administrative practice. He tends to seek out, and usually does not hesitate to approach directly, anyone, however junior or apparently unconnected with the problem, if he thinks that person is likely to give him useful information or opinion.

An administrator is brought up to consider the political and other human implications of his actions. By contrast, weighing up various possible reactions and repercussions does not come to the scientist equally easily. By temperament he is drawn to investigate, to experiment, to improve and to perfect, his theories, his findings, his inventions, or his apparatus. He often finds it difficult emotionally to put up with delays or apparent inefficiency. These, he usually feels, ought to be easily remedied, although

he may be unaware that in fact their removal might require a major reorganization. Being steeped in his own work and in his subject, he is often bewildered by what appears to him to be a mere lack of understanding and of sympathy. Unfortunately, only too often he is right. Being cut off from considerations of finance, and not having financial responsibilities himself, the scientist, particularly of a less senior rank, often tends to work in an atmosphere where the magnitude of the available financial resources is only vaguely known. This leads to overestimation of their extent, and to a feeling that they are restricted only by what appears to be no more than the administrator's lack of co-operation. In addition he constantly questions the assumptions lying behind administrative practices which the administrators take for granted, because they understand their origin and purpose.

These problems are further aggravated by well-known linguistic difficulties; it is extraordinarily difficult to convey highly complicated technical or scientific matters to people who have not had any basic training in the same subject, or in some related branch of science or technology. Apart from the intrinsic semantic difficulties of this task, the educational system as such gives hardly any time or opportunity to scientists under training to exercise the art of using plain and intelligible English, either in speech or in writing. Methods of presentation are not usually studied and there is no occasion for explaining one's subject to a layman. Although there exist types of career which entail the exercise of easily comprehensible language and the abandonment of technological vocabulary, such as scientific journalism, technical writing for non-specialists, popularization and elementary teaching, these are not held in academic circles in very high esteem. Consequently more ambitious people are not interested in them. As a result, abstrusity and learnedness of expression tend to be endowed with prestige value. This becomes so deeply ingrained during the period of training that it is difficult to relinquish it, even if at a later stage in the career greater plainness in speech and writing would be more desirable. As is well known, according to the tradition of the Administrative Class, clarity of expression is highly valued, and its lack is taken to denote lack of clarity in thinking. Consequently the impression is often created amongst administrators that scientists are not clear about their plans.

By comparison, it is not often appreciated that the language of administrators is not easily comprehended either. Although their words are taken from everyday language they acquire subtle shades of meaning whose real significance tends to be fully recognized only by those who belong to the same group.

THE EFFECT ON EFFICIENCY: FURTHER THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

The deep-seated difficulties of communication, partly semantic and partly psychological, have an obvious effect on efficiency. Discussions become frustrating and protracted. People experience a baffling difficulty in conveying their ideas.¹⁰ Reports and projects are written and re-written many times before the right level of technical language, the amount of detail, and the

¹⁰See, e.g. Sir Henry Tizard, *A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*, Haldane Memorial Lecture, delivered at, and published by, Birkbeck College, London, 1955.

right length is achieved. In order to be acceptable, cases have to be specially presented, which may entail a number of revisions, until the manifest purpose and manner of presentation of the final version may not exactly correspond to what the originator had in mind.

These difficulties are experienced, not only in connection with financial control, but also in dealings with a number of agencies providing centralized services, such as, for example, the supply of buildings, and of various forms of equipment and stationery. All these agencies operate according to rules and regulations which have been worked out centrally in the interests of uniformity and economy. The research establishments, however, have peculiar needs of their own, which are not easily understood by non-technical staff of central agencies. Consequently the baffling and frustrating discussions increase in proportion to the number of separate centralized agencies the research scientist has to deal with. This may become a serious burden, in particular to the less senior members of the Scientific Officer Class, especially when, for example, a disproportionate amount of time has to be spent on discussion of such presumably trivial items as paper clips, or supply of coloured ink for a computer.

In these circumstances scientists tend to develop a frustrated attitude of mind which leads either to rebelliousness or to apathetic resignation. Since the focus of interest shifts away from the work itself, and towards the manipulation of the bureaucratic machinery, and since enthusiasm is progressively lost, the same number of people do less creative work. As the demand for facilities increases an impression is created and reinforced at headquarters of lack of financial responsibility in an out-station. There is a tendency, therefore, for the controls to tighten, with a further paralysing effect on work.

One way out of these difficulties appears to be the creation of scientific liaison units at headquarters. This remedy, however, has often a number of undesirable results. The length of communication channels increases, and there is still another agency to be consulted before any action can be taken. There is a strong danger of a liaison unit acting as a screen, instead of truly co-ordinating. Under high pressure of work there is a temptation and an unconscious tendency to maintain that a proposal is not likely to be agreed to, rather than to attempt to negotiate it.

It will be helpful at this stage to quote from Lord Bridges:¹¹ "If full benefit is to be derived from economic (or indeed other) advisers, it is no use putting them in a separate compartment from those who are engaged in the day-to-day work of administration. Advisers must be given access to the same sources of material as those on which the administrators are working. They must live cheek by jowl with them and share their anxieties and aspirations. Only so can advisers make their influence felt at the early stages when facts are being sorted out, theories are beginning to emerge and the first pointers on future policy are being formulated."

To this one could add that it is also necessary for the administrators to

¹¹Sir Edward Bridges, *Treasury Control*, The Stamp Memorial Lecture, University of London; The Athlone Press, London, 1950.

learn at least to appreciate, and preferably to understand and to sympathize with, the ways of thinking of their technical advisers. Efficient teamwork requires that a team should be well-knit, that there should be an interpenetration of attitudes and of ways of thinking, a sharing of knowledge and of interests. Segregation into self-contained groups, made almost watertight by geographical separation, and by clear-cut division of function, fosters inbreeding of opposing and conflicting attitudes. Ambitions and interests of both groups, their hopes and setbacks, anxieties and aspirations, are not shared, but pitted one against the other.

TOWARDS A REMEDY: BREAKING BARRIERS IN COMMUNICATION

It will be obvious from the foregoing analysis of the problem and from observation of daily life that the prejudices and emotions of the sort described here are usually hidden behind one of the many possible façades, such as customary politeness, cool and distant aloofness, or superficially friendly, but studied informality. Any one of these façades interferes with good communication and makes a frank and adequate discussion of problems very difficult, or even impossible. Prejudices are usually only hinted at, but never discussed at sufficient length and with sufficient sincerity. Consequently they do not dissipate easily. As a result of the fact that junior members of the Scientific Officer Class and of the Administrative Class have very few opportunities to meet in a leisurely atmosphere, these barriers, which might be overcome by an opportunity for more extensive informal and frank discussion, tend to persist indefinitely.

So far as is known, the method of approach to be described has not been developed before to deal with the type of problem outlined in this article. It was, however, obvious from the previous experience of the authors with case study sessions that, when carefully handled, they can bring about a more frank discussion of current problems than is usual, provided the case studies used are well fitted for the particular purpose in hand. This is partly because during a case study session people do not face each other as if they were negotiating on opposite sides. They are free from the pressure of daily work, and their personal interests in any given matter are not at stake during the session. For these reasons, and since no actual person is being pilloried, strong and sincere criticisms can be expressed without the restraints described in the previous paragraph.

It was at the same time obvious, from the previous experience of the authors with case studies, that if such a frank discussion is to be provoked on any given specific issue, the case study used must be realistic and specific enough to be taken seriously. It must be true to life, and the characters and incidents described must be acceptable not as something extraordinary and rare but as representing current problems to be remedied. Moreover, if the obstacles to open discussion, consisting in involuntarily adopted habitual façade, are to be shaken up, the case study must have considerable emotional impact on the type of audience at which it is aimed.

Case study discussion has been used for some time in the British Civil Service for training at more junior levels. As is well known, this particular

training method originated in America, and it appears to have been used at first at the Harvard Business School, and later at the Graduate School of Public Administration of the same University. A fuller historical account will be found elsewhere.¹²

The technique of conducting case study discussion which was to be used at the residential conferences is markedly different from what has become well-known as the so-called "Harvard Method," which is characterized by a high degree of permissiveness described as "passive leadership." Also a tradition is well established in the British Civil Service that the case studies used for training must be very realistic and that they must describe the types of situations with which the members of the training group are familiar. A fuller discussion of the origin and use of case studies in the British Civil Service has been provided elsewhere in this *Journal*.¹³

To meet the specific training need a realistic case study was required which would illustrate personal relations both between and within the two classes, the Administrative and the Scientific Officer Class. The events represented were to be at the level familiar to the members of the conference, i.e. that of Assistant Secretary and equivalent ranks, and of their immediate subordinates. In order to show the relationship between the two classes it was necessary to bring in both a research establishment and headquarters. All the events and character sketches in the case study had to be sufficiently detailed and realistic in order to be interesting and convincing. At the same time, to avoid an embarrassing situation or a breach of confidence, a detailed and strictly factual description of any specific department or establishment could not have been given.

A division of function was adopted between the two authors according to the main spheres of their interests. Mr Tarkowski prepared preliminary drafts of character sketches and of accounts of a number of events. These drafts were based on a careful psychological and sociological analysis of the situation. The drafts were shown to a number of people who had already been to Treasury courses and who were directly acquainted with the way case studies were being used. The purpose was not only the vetting of the drafts but also obtaining further information and suggestions for improvements. A number of inconsistencies were removed by this method and as the case study progressed through several stages, the events and the character sketches were becoming increasingly realistic. No comments were ignored, but in one way or another they affected the final text or were incorporated in it. It must be stressed at this point that these discussions were completely unofficial, as otherwise the same degree of frankness could not have been established. Most of them took place outside official premises and outside office hours. People were approached, not because of their official capacity, but because they were known to be outspoken and to be interested in these problems. The conversations were very informal. They were held in an

¹²See Harold Stein (ed.), *Public Administration and Policy Development* (Harcourt Brace, New York), 1952. Also William Anderson and John M. Gaus, *Research in Public Administration*, published for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council by Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1945.

¹³Avice V. Turnbull, "The Use of Case Studies in the British Civil Service," loc. cit.

atmosphere of complete personal confidence, without which no worthwhile information could have been obtained.

At each stage Miss Turnbull was considering the existing drafts from the point of view of their serving as a basis for a conducted group discussion. This examination was based on the experience of training, on a careful analysis of the possible reactions of the group, and on the ways of coping with them. The particular technique to be used for conducting the sessions was planned at each stage of drafting, and the usefulness of various items included in the case study was carefully considered.

Unfortunately, due to a variety of circumstances, the case study had to be written under considerable pressure of time. It was produced in several weeks of very intensive work and it has, regrettably, a number of blemishes and shortcomings which there was no time to remove. When the final version was drafted, it was sent to a number of senior scientists and administrators and a few official visits were arranged. They served the purpose of assessing the reception and of gaining further insight into the type of comments to be expected at the conferences. These visits resulted in a few additions and amendments to the text and in the final touches to the detailed plans for the technique to be used in conducting the case study sessions.

CONDUCTING THE CASE STUDY SESSIONS

Conducting a case study session or a group discussion is a skill which requires considerable experience, arises from study and application, and is necessarily based on a natural gift. Most people do not easily acquire this skill without a prolonged period of training.

As is well known, and as has been mentioned above, there are several different approaches towards conducting case study sessions. *The Inter-Planetary Research Establishment* was written specially to be used as a basis for discussion conducted in a way particularly developed by one of the authors.

A fruitful discussion of any issue is difficult if it happens to matter seriously to a given group of people. Since the feelings about the issues concerned are strong, and since the opinions differ and are highly controversial, the discussion tends to proceed in the atmosphere of an emotional fog. In Britain, although the views may be emotionally charged, and there may be many irrational prejudices, both these are usually well hidden behind one of the many possible façades such as plain customary politeness, coolly distant aloofness or superficially friendly but studied informality. There is also sweetly reasonable and charming conversation which covers up preconceived and immovable notions; in addition, in the context of the Civil Service, it is necessary to mention also the highly intellectual, intelligent and prolonged discussion of abstruse and abstract points of administrative principle; these attitudes are too often only symptomatic of lack of sympathy and of stubborn opposition which could be with greater profit expressed more frankly. Any one of these façades obviously interferes with good communication. Since the expression of any strong views is bound to be guarded, it is likely to become enigmatic and, therefore, to be misconstrued or misunderstood. A frank and fruitful exchange of views becomes very difficult or almost impossible in these circumstances. What takes place

instead is a stilted discussion which is often likely to confuse the issues further.

The difficulty of conducting a case study discussion increases with the level of seniority of the group. Amongst any group of senior and well-educated people there is a clearly observable reluctance to discuss issues which are likely to arouse strong feelings. The tendency to ward off such issues manifests itself either in over-politeness or in strongly critical utterances. The criticism may be directed either at the case study itself or at the discussion leader. The greater the seniority, the intelligence, and the higher the education of the members of the group, the more cogent and the better informed are these criticisms. For this reason the case studies to be used at higher levels of seniority have to be prepared with much greater care.

Occasionally a member of a group expresses quite unequivocally his strong feelings in a way which may cause either a counter-attack or embarrassment to other members of the group. At such moments the pace of exchanges becomes very fast. What exactly people said becomes quickly forgotten and the memory that remains is only that they sounded unpleasant. To cope with this, it is necessary for the leader to slow down the tempo of the discussion and to lead the group to re-examine more coolly what has just taken place. These situations, if they are to be fruitful, and if they are not to result in the erection of further barriers, require very careful handling by the leader, and again the difficulty of doing it obviously increases with the level of seniority of the group.

It is essential to stress at this point that if a discussion of any case study is to be fruitful, the method of conducting the session must be different from the chairmanship of most other and better-known forms of meetings. This applies in particular to a case study of the order of complexity of *The Inter-Planetary Research Establishment*.

It may be helpful to review briefly the familiar types of discussion which usually take place amongst people engaged either in administration or in research. The best known, both amongst administrators and scientists, is a sequence of arguments and counter-arguments which appear purely rational; facts are quoted, and the participants present their conclusions in the form of well-knit reasoning which either is, or purports to be, cogent; other people's utterances are examined with a view to finding either logical errors or mistakes of fact; anything seemingly irrelevant is strictly avoided, including personal remarks; intellectual curiosity and other emotions are restrained; questions are not asked and ignorance not shown unless this is unavoidable. When the discussion has a definite purpose of reaching a decision within a specified time limit, it takes a similar form, but it is further restricted by the agenda and by the presence of a chairman. The form of discussion known as negotiation bears a closer resemblance to a game, and consists primarily of an inter-play of proposals and counter-proposals. Another type of discussion consists in a succession of question and answer which usually takes place between laymen and an expert, more especially after a demonstration or a lecture. Still another form of the pattern of question and answer is known as cross-examination.

One basic characteristic of all these forms of discussion is that what appears

to be irrelevant is strictly avoided. On the other hand, the central feature of a fruitful case study discussion is that the leader, whilst to some extent controlling the procedure, refrains from ruling out any comments. On the contrary, he encourages the expression of any opinion, however unreasonable or prejudiced it may appear at first.

As a result of skilled leadership of this sort a permissive atmosphere arises within the group. The participants are enabled to examine with relative calm their own and each other's prejudices. When an opinion has been expressed with reference to a point which the leader considers to be of importance, he will draw out other members of the group to challenge it. He will not allow the discussion to shift ground until some of the obstinacy or heat generated by the expression of an apparently unreasonable or dogmatic view has been dissipated enough for a cooler and more open-minded exchange of reasoning to take place. No contributions to discussion are ruled out as irrelevant, but their relevance itself is discussed, and the leader decides, subject to the feelings of the group, which issues should be taken up first and which can be postponed to a later stage. The silent members of the group, and others who happen to have special knowledge or views of a given subject, are drawn out by the leader. There is no need for the group to arrive at any definite decisions or conclusions. The purpose of the discussion is a purely exploratory ventilation of views and attitudes, an exchange of information, eliciting suggestions for remedies, and a calm consideration of different possible arguments for or against various practical solutions.

SOME REACTIONS DURING THE DISCUSSIONS

A few examples will show some types of comments made on occasions when the case study has been discussed, and the way the discussion develops.

As will be easily seen, the case study raises a great number of issues, which, although inter-related, are different from each other. Some of these issues, by no means all, are brought out in the questionnaire shown in Appendix II. In consequence, at the beginning of the case study discussion, there is a certain feeling, often quite apparent, of doubt and hesitation as to which one of these issues the members of the conference are supposed to be discussing during the case study session. To overcome this feeling, the discussion leader may open the session by posing a definite question.

Since the main purpose in using *The Inter-Planetary Research Establishment* was to concentrate on the questions of personal relations and of differences in attitude between the two classes of senior staff, the question usually posed at the beginning called for an appraisal and comments on one of the characters in the case study. One of the opening questions, for example, was: "Has anyone here met, and had to deal with, somebody similar to the Assistant Secretary in the case study, Hugh Browning, and what did you think of him?" This drew a number of significant comments, especially from the scientists.

For instance, fairly soon after this question was asked, one of the research scientists stated, rather dogmatically, that in his view research people should be kept as far away as possible from administrators. He felt that it was a waste of his time to have come to this conference, particularly as an inter-

national conference on his own subject was being held at the same time. He thought that the less the research scientist is bothered by administrators or administration, the better; in his view the remedy lay in the interposition of intermediaries between himself and headquarters administration. Such intermediaries should have both training in science and understanding of administration, and should act as interpreters and liaison officers. During the further course of the discussion a number of comments were made to the effect that the chain of intermediaries has a tendency to grow, and it results quite often in the distortion of information meant to convey views of the parties concerned, rather than in the clarification of these views. This point was taken up later on in the theoretical analysis presented in the talk following the case study discussion. It was elaborated further to show the resulting increase in size and complexity of organization. During the subsequent discussion, the research scientist who made the original statement was heard to retract it. He became quite emphatic that a much better solution might be for both administrators and research scientists to learn more about each other's point of view.

During one of the discussions, a very forceful contribution was made by an administrator who had been previously a member of the Scientific Officer Class, and who at that time was himself engaged in active research. He said that, in his experience, the existing system of financial control, as exemplified in the case study, had a demoralizing effect on the scientists. Not only did they feel that they were not trusted enough to have financial responsibilities commensurate with their status, but they were further seriously aggrieved by the fact that financial decisions fundamentally affecting their work were being taken by complete laymen. This tended to foster negligent attitudes among scientists, thus giving ammunition to the administrators' argument that scientists as a class were not reliable enough to be trusted with financial responsibility. The contributor to the discussion was suggesting forcibly that the remedy lay in increasing the financial powers of scientists, as this would strengthen their sense of responsibility and induce a greater tendency to economize.

At numerous points in the discussion, the Assistant Secretary in the case study (Hugh Browning) was criticized for being unimaginative, much too rigid, and somewhat inhuman in his outlook. Several of the administrators present said that, although they knew of colleagues whose rigidity of outlook was nearly as great as that of Hugh Browning, such people were rather rare, and they would not have been posted to that sort of position. At this point one of the administrators who had contributed to this discussion made a brief exposition of the constitutional function of the members of the Administrative Class. This was so nearly an almost verbatim repetition of the traditional view embodied in scores of textbooks, and so nearly resembled the rigidity of Hugh Browning himself, as to focus the amazed attention of everyone on the speaker. Becoming aware of this, he blushed and stopped in mid-sentence; the group were stunned into a few moments of embarrassing silence.

This type of discussion during the case study session usually leads to

the airing of views on what is the right relationship between the administrator and the specialist. On one occasion a member of one of the Professional Classes was very emphatic in his opinion that the traditional and apparently still widely held view of this matter was antiquated. This traditional view, he said, was that when the administrator formulated a question on which he felt he needed technical advice, a specialist was called in to give his opinion. This done, the specialist was not required any longer, and the decision lay with the administrator.

This was exemplified in the case study by the dealings of some of the scientists with committees. The technical experts did not know with whom the final decision rested. Their submissions were scrutinized by remote agencies. If called to give evidence, they had to retire before the final decision was taken. The speaker felt that this conception of the role of the expert was very frustrating to the specialist, and injurious to his professional dignity. Worse than that, it led to wastage of available expert knowledge and to mistaken policies, both in commission and omission. Experts ought to be consulted before the inception of a policy, to anticipate, and to advise on, the problems which are likely to arise. The speaker thought that it was much too late to call them in to ask them to cope with problems which would not have arisen if an expert had been consulted at an earlier stage. Equally well, problems to be solved should be formulated as a result of continued consultation between the administrators and the experts. It was a mistake to think that a specialist should be required, and able, to answer any question presented to him, even if it had been formulated in his absence and was based on inadequate knowledge of his special subject. Moreover, specialist advice was needed at the stage of implementation of a policy, which meant that at a certain level of seniority, administrators and specialists must form a closely knit team, and that no sharp distinction should be drawn between issues of administration and of expertise.

THE CASE STUDY SESSION AS AN INTRODUCTION TO A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS
The problem outlined in this article could not be effectively dealt with by means of a lecture alone. This is because as already mentioned, in the atmosphere of emotional tenseness there is a strong tendency to take refuge in arid discussions of abstract principles. Such discussions become much too general and remote to be really fruitful. Moreover people delight in destructive criticism or take refuge in a shell of indifference. In such circumstances a mere talk is likely to fall on deaf ears.

A well conducted case study session usually dispels these emotional barriers. The atmosphere becomes altogether less tense and formal; the participants are friendlier and find it easier to be frank. In these conditions there is a positive desire to have a further discussion of the problems. A talk or lecture presenting a theoretical analysis of the situation is much better received than it would have been without a prior case study session. Since the atmosphere is friendlier and less tense the participants are more open-minded and receptive, and less destructively critical.

It is therefore easier, after the case study session, to introduce the theoretical

SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS

analysis of the situation. The substance of this was already given in two earlier sections. The incidents described in the case study are used as an illustration in a talk, delivered later on during the conference by one of the authors (Z. M. T. Tarkowski). Careful notes are taken during the case study session and various contributions of the members are used, in a similar manner as the case study, to illustrate the theoretical analysis of the problem of the lack of sympathy and understanding between the administrators and the scientists, and of the personal relations within both groups. Since a large proportion of the membership of the conference consists of natural scientists an approach is adopted in these talks which seems to be particularly congenial to this audience.¹⁴

The effect of this combined training approach is that the members of the conference become informed more fully about each other's opinions and attitudes, and about the reasons for them. They arrive together at new opinions and attitudes. These are not imposed on them, but they arise naturally from new knowledge and from genuine change in convictions acquired as a result of interaction within the group. Instead of the fatalistic acceptance of the whole system and of the resulting difficulties as inevitable, a spirit arises of frank and constructive examination of the problem. Such attitudes as self-satisfaction, complacency and easy optimism, aggressive rebelliousness or apathetic resignation tend to give way, so that self-criticism and a desire to make positive efforts towards improvements can arise.

The case study clearly raises a large number of administrative issues in addition to the main problems of the lack of understanding and of personal relations both within and between the Administrative and the Scientific Officers Class. To bring out these issues a questionnaire was prepared. This, although not exhaustive, is fairly comprehensive. It is given in full in Appendix II. The questionnaire is issued after the case study discussion. Several members of conferences have suggested that it might be profitable to spend more time on the case study and to discuss separately a number of different issues raised by it. The questionnaire could be easily used for this purpose. The case study is sent in advance to all the guest speakers, several of whom have used it as an illustration for their own talks.

A new development is being introduced whilst this article is being written. At the next Treasury conference a practical exercise will take place prior to the case study discussion. This will consist in a member of the conference, preferably an administrator, conducting an interview with one of the staff of the *Inter-Planetary Research Establishment*. The interviewee is being carefully chosen so as to resemble as closely as possible in character, outlook and experience the man whom he is to impersonate.

POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS

The same method could obviously be used to increase mutual understanding whenever barriers and lack of sympathy exist between various professional groups, classes of staff, or between interdependent organizations. One

¹⁴See Z. M. T. Tarkowski, "Understanding the Behaviour of People at Work," *oc. cit.*; also, "Models in Physics and Psychology," *The Times Science Review*, No. 28, Summer, 1958.

obvious field of application is the National Health Service where a number of people with very different background, experience and traditions have to work side by side. It appears that the technique could be also used with profit at joint training conferences, say between local authorities and central administration, or between Government departments and industry. Such joint training conferences would seem to be capable of considerably clearing the air.

Producing case studies comparable to the *Inter-Planetary Research Establishment* requires considerable work. They have to be carefully designed for the specific purpose in hand. It would be useful, therefore, to be able to compare experimentally the value of different methods of presentation. There are at the moment tentative plans in existence to evaluate experimentally the long-term effects of this type of training, both on individual members and on the organizations to which they belong.

The impact of this approach could be increased by arranging the conferences in such a way that all the members are directly interested in some aspect of the problems discussed and that they can contribute to their clarification. Unfortunately a very precise selection of members is difficult to achieve. A suggestion has been made that follow-up conferences could be organized for some of the past members who would like to take any of the issues further. The contributions of members to the discussion at various stages is highly valuable and throws a great deal of light on the nature of various administrative problems. It is essential that the members of such conferences should feel free to express their views in an atmosphere of complete privacy and confidence. Nevertheless it has been suggested that some form of periodical report would be very valuable. Whilst preserving confidence and anonymity such reports could give an assessment of some current feelings and views, make known the trends of opinion, and could bring to light some of the salient points.

APPENDIX I

"THE INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT" A CASE STUDY IN ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PREPARED BY Z. T. M. TARKOWSKI AND AVICE V. TURNBULL.

The following case study and the questionnaire should not be paraphrased or reproduced either wholly or in part, and it should not be used for training or any other purpose without permission of the authors.

Note.—The following case study was designed specially for a particular purpose and as a dossier for a specific and specialized training technique. If used as training material in any other way or without sufficient care, it is not likely to be very successful.

The case study is not intended to give a completely true and balanced picture of a Government research establishment. Although various incidents mentioned are based on fact, they occurred at different times and at different places. In the following document they are synthesized and described as if they happened at one time and in one organization. This may produce an exaggerated impression of the extent of the administrative problems, but it has been done deliberately in order to help to focus the case study discussion more sharply and to highlight various differences of attitude and opinion.

SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS

FILE A

PREFACE

The purpose of this case study is to help to focus discussion on some of the detailed practical problems arising from the present-day organization of scientific research.

The case is based on facts gathered from various sources, but in order to avoid breach of confidence, it was necessary to disguise them sufficiently so that they should become unrecognizable. It is for this reason that the case had to be based in an imaginary setting, and some of the detail and terminology may appear to be scientifically or administratively inaccurate or inappropriate. The scale of events and problems are different in various parts of the Civil Service. Certain aspects of the case therefore may seem to some readers unrealistic, either too remote or too trivial. Other readers will find that the very same points closely resemble their everyday experience. This was found in the discussions held when the case was being prepared, and it applies in particular to the order of magnitude of the figures mentioned. These may be beyond the reach of certain research establishments, and yet appear trifling in the context of others.

Some readers will find the material presented here completely unfamiliar, whereas to others it is so familiar that it is taken for granted, and tends to be forgotten when matters of policy are discussed. One of the purposes of the case is to help some of the participants in the discussion to recall instances of similar problems encountered in their working life.

A number of civil servants, belonging both to the Scientific and Administrative Classes, were consulted, and their generous help was invaluable. It is regretted that their identity cannot be disclosed, and therefore personal acknowledgments are impossible.

DEPARTMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

This Department is a part of the Ministry of Scientific Policy and Planning. It was set up in 1922 as a counterpart to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, and its organization was originally modelled on D.S.I.R.

The Minister of Scientific Policy and Planning, who is not a member of the Cabinet, is responsible for co-ordinating the work of civil research departments, industry, and the Universities. He is concerned with planning long-term developments in the field of civil scientific research and with co-ordinating the work of grant-giving trusts and other authorities and organizing national financial support for fundamental research. He supervises his own research departments.

The Department of Fundamental Research is to undertake such projects into fundamental problems in pure science as are beyond the capacity of existing academic departments and other institutions. Over the years its organization, originally based on that of D.S.I.R., has been modified, and is now neither that of D.S.I.R. nor of the Research and Development Side of the Ministry of Supply.

In 1930 an Inter-Planetary Research Establishment was set up under D.F.R.

D.F.R. was not particularly well endowed. It is ultimately under the financial control of the Treasury, and as it is not directly concerned with either industry or defence, and therefore unable to show an immediate return for any outlay, it has been somewhat neglected.

In 1951, the problems of interplanetary travel became of greater importance. On the recommendation of the Blatherthwaite Report, D.F.R. was given the sole responsibility for interplanetary research, and steps were taken to expand it by the addition of new facilities, staff and equipment. However, due to pressure of defence needs, and industrial requirements, and as limited financial resources were available, this expansion did not proceed as quickly as was desirable.

The Department met its need for Administrative and Executive staff partly by promotion from within its own resources. Also, a number of people were imported from other Departments.

In 1957, several foreign Powers launched interplanetary vehicles, and the matter became one of paramount importance, not only for prestige, but also for defence reasons. At the end of 1957, the Minister of S.P.P. said that there must be substantial improvement to speed up the research. In May 1958, the Minister made a public statement that he was completely confident that Britain would not be left behind in this important development. At the beginning of June one of the foreign Powers attempted to launch a manned interplanetary vehicle and, although this was a partial failure, it was clear evidence of their tremendous advance.

On the Minister's instruction, a Departmental Working Party has been set up, consisting of Hugh Browning, the Assistant Secretary in charge of Inter-Planetary Research, in the chair, and several senior members of the directing scientific staff, both from Headquarters and from other outstations, including the Head of the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment, Sir Alexander Urquhart, F.R.S.

The Working Party is at present investigating the matter. At the last meeting of the Working Party, the Head of the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment reported that one of the key men in the project, P.S.O. Dr George Brookland, had been offered a job in America and appeared to be inclined to take it.

As Dr Urquhart himself had to attend an international conference and had also a number of other commitments in connection with high level committees, he felt that he could not deal with this problem himself.

Dr Urquhart was very emphatic that the state of affairs in the Inter-Planetary Research Station was not an isolated case. He felt that many brilliant scientists were leaving the Civil Service to go to industry and abroad, and also that young promising people were no longer attracted to working in Government establishments. He repeated a plea which he had made in other places before that some drastic action was needed, and that the principles on which the organization of scientific research was based had

to be re-examined if Britain was not to be left behind in the progress of science and particularly in industrial research and development.

NEW STAFF FOR INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH PROJECT

During the last few years the Director of the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment, Sir Alexander Urquhart, F.R.S., has several times approached the Minister of Scientific Policy and Planning and other members of the Government in order to emphasize the importance of the project and the utmost necessity to speed up its progress.

This was recognized and a number of outstanding specialists were invited to join the establishment. Dr Geoffrey Hutchison, who was known as a very successful manager of a research department in industry, was offered the position of Deputy Director with the rank of S.P.S.O.

A young and promising research fellow, Dr George Brookland, was invited to take charge as a P.S.O. of the work on aerodynamic aspects of the atmospheric phase of flight, which was considered to be of key importance.

Due to difficulties in finding suitable administrative staff within the department, a few Principals were transferred to the Headquarters from other branches of the Civil Service. Amongst them was Kenneth Haigh-Burnett, who was known as a man of quick decision and action and a good progress-chaser, and who had made his reputation by organizing and conducting expeditiously large-scale operations.

In order to strengthen the department, the Assistant Secretary, Hugh Browning, a man of outstanding calibre, was imported from the Treasury. Browning was known to be very knowledgeable about financial procedures and skilful in minimizing the delays involved in financial control. At the same time he was a cautious man capable of thinking out beforehand the full implications of a given action and it was thought that he would not allow the Inter-Planetary Research Project to get out of hand. This was particularly important as the Press had been accusing the Government lately of extravagant expenditure on defence projects. Also in view of the need for national economy, severe criticisms were raised from various quarters alleging inefficiency and extravagant expansion of the Civil Service. Hugh Browning was especially selected as one of the few people capable of speeding up the Inter-Planetary Research Project, whilst preventing it, at the same time, from giving substance to any such allegations.

SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE INTER-PLANETARY PROJECT

1. *New Research Laboratory*

The Director, Sir Alexander Urquhart, prepared some years ago a plan for a new research laboratory, which, he maintains, is indispensable if the project is to succeed. The estimated costs would be £5 million. The matter was discussed at several standing committees and agreed in principle, but it was felt that some economies could be made. No agreement has so far been reached.

2. *Large-scale Simulator*

Dr Geoffrey Hutchison recently submitted a detailed plan for a large-scale

simulator, which he and Dr Brookland considered to be essential for the prediction of behaviour of an interplanetary vehicle during the atmospheric phase of flight. The estimated cost was £1 million. The matter was submitted to the appropriate committee, and Dr Hutchison was invited to give evidence and answer questions. The committee felt that the technical arguments endeavouring to substantiate the case were too complex and Hutchison was requested to produce a briefer report. The full technical report was referred to the appropriate sub-committee.

3. *Structural Steel Parts*

The Assistant Director (Engineering) in charge of the construction of interplanetary vehicles commissioned a quantity of steel parts from a particular firm. When the arrangements were made in the Contracts Division at Headquarters, it was discovered that according to binding regulations this type of equipment should be subject to tender, and the matter was dealt with accordingly. Another firm was able to produce the required equipment at 70 per cent. cost and was given the contract. Some of the experiments on launching a trial vehicle early this year failed due to disintegration of the framework and a number of people were killed. The Assistant Director (Engineering) maintained that this was entirely due to the unsatisfactory quality of the steel parts and that the experiments could not proceed until he got what was originally requested. A Working Party was set up to investigate the matter.

4. *Model Vehicles for Experimentation in Wind Tunnels*

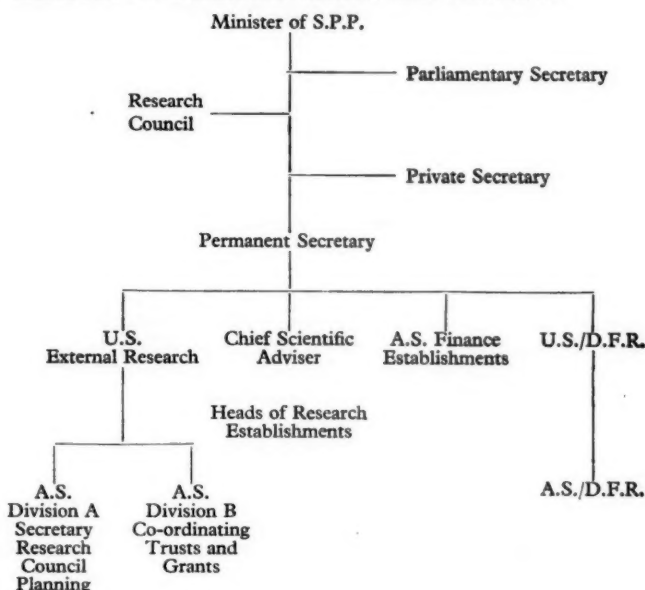
Dr George Brookland had conducted unofficial negotiations with the firm of J. Jones, of Basingstoke, for placing a contract for some specially designed wind tunnel models. This became known to H. Bartlett, of Hitchin, who remonstrated with the Contracts Division at Headquarters on the grounds that their quotations would have been much cheaper. There are rumours that unless this job goes to tender the local M.P. may be asked to take up the case with the Minister. Moreover there is a danger that the local and national Press might be prompted to make an issue of the alleged Government extravagance.

5. *Control of Administrative Staff at the Establishment*

The new Principal in Headquarters, Kenneth Haigh-Burnett, in charge of outstation activities, has found that the Executive and Clerical staff attached to the Inter-Planetary establishment do not conform to the regulations, and that there is disparity in practice throughout the station. In order to ensure uniformity and tightening up of discipline, he has obtained the agreement of the Director that all the Executive and Clerical staff previously responsible to the respective Heads of Sections and Departments should report instead to the S.E.O. Wilson. This arrangement has been badly received by the Head of Department and by the Deputy Director, Hutchison, in whose absence it was made. Haigh-Burnett was trying to persuade Sir Alexander that the S.E.O. Wilson ought to report direct to himself at Headquarters, but so far without success. The new arrangements have created considerable

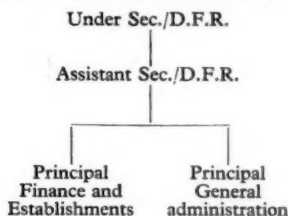
SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS

MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC POLICY AND PLANNING

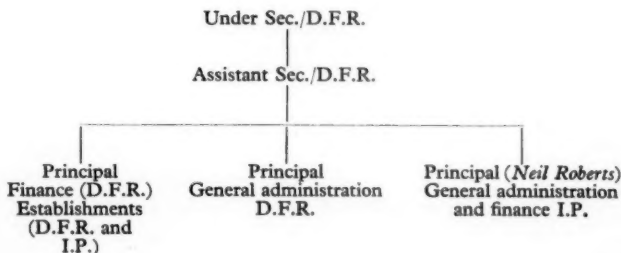


CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF D.F.R.

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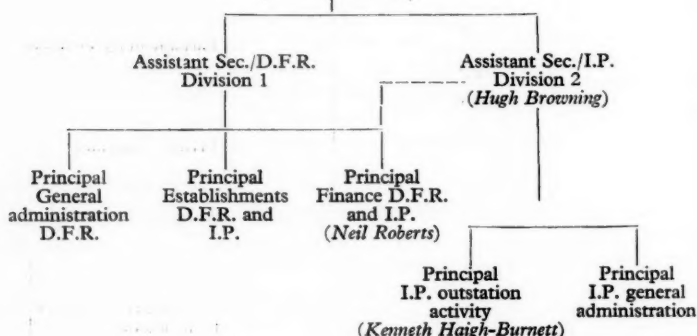


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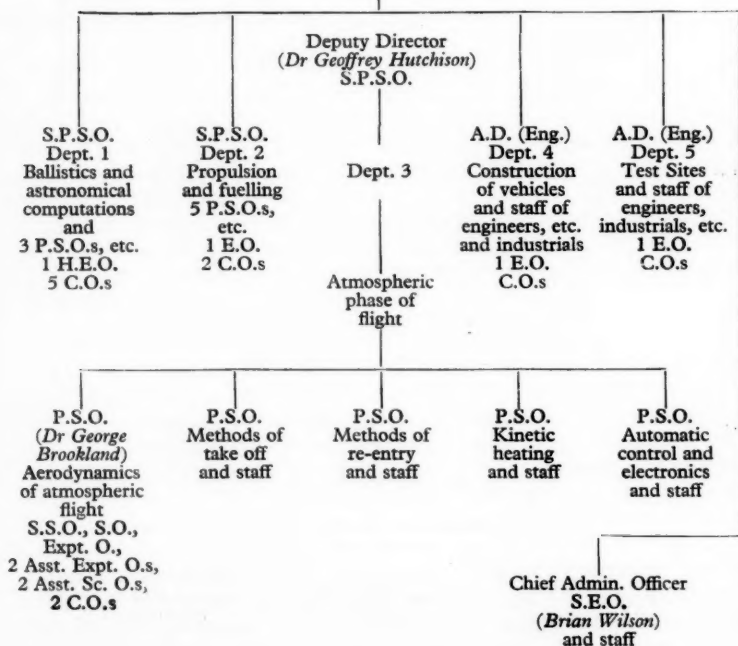
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Under Sec./D.F.R. and I.P.



INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT

Director
(Sir Alexander Urruhart, F.R.S.)



friction between Haigh-Burnett and Hutchison, and antagonized other Heads of Departments. It is quite likely that the organization will return to the previous arrangement.

FILE B

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this file is to show in some detail how people's training and experience affect their attitude to various problems of administration. Although the fact that this happens is accepted as a general truth, the way in which it affects the running of public business is rarely examined. It is therefore difficult to find a way out when clashes arise.

All the characters in this file are based originally on existing individuals, but various details of their work and experience have been altered in such a way as to make them unrecognizable, whilst preserving a degree of reality. The types of people described are not uncommon. As mentioned in the Preface, it was already found in the preliminary discussions that whilst some readers may find that the character sketches do not resemble anyone they know, others will be forcefully reminded of people they have to work with. If, however, any one character happens to describe exactly any living person, the resemblance must be purely coincidental. The type of information contained in this file is not normally known in its entirety to any one person empowered to make a decision. Although the importance of understanding in detail people's attitudes and their ways of thinking may be recognized in principle it is difficult to come to understand them at a distance and when not enough time is allowed for personal contact. These matters, although highly relevant, are hardly ever brought up in sufficient detail in any discussion of policy and organization. Even if considered by individuals in their own thinking, this type of information is always seen from their own point of view. It cannot therefore be considered in systematic fashion.

Specific types of education and experience impose certain limitations on people's outlook. When confronted with problems of administration, people of different backgrounds often come to opposing conclusions, and the resulting disagreements cause inefficiency and delays. One way of minimizing the clashes of attitudes is the provision at all levels of suitable opportunities for informal discussion, which would help all concerned to acquire a sympathetic understanding of the ways of thinking of those they have to work with. The purpose of the material contained in this file is to help to facilitate such a discussion.

HUGH BROWNING, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, DIVISION 2

Age 42

1938 First Class Honours (Litt. Hum), New College, Oxford.

1939 Assistant Principal Board of Trade.

1939 2nd Lieutenant, Royal Artillery.

1941-46 Various Staff appointments.

1946 Demobilized Lieutenant-Colonel and returned to Board of Trade as Principal.

1951 Transferred Treasury.

1954 Promoted Assistant Secretary from Defence Division.

1957 Transferred to D.F.R. as Assistant Secretary in charge of the newly formed Division 2.

Hugh Browning is a very conscientious and able man. He has done some brilliant work speeding up difficult trade negotiations through a tangle of complicated treaties. He is known to be able to find his way quickly through a mass of complicated regulations. Browning made his reputation by conducting skilfully and expeditiously a comprehensive review of Defence Budget expenditure. As a result of his report considerable economies were achieved, without apparently hampering the work of the Defence Departments or disrupting their relations with the Treasury.

This success was due to his comprehensive understanding of the working of the administrative machine. He has learned to attach importance, once policy has been settled, to clear any unequivocal rules being worked out by appropriate officers for the guidance of Executive and Clerical staff at all levels. He believes that the discretionary powers and the delegated authority at each level must be clearly defined so that there is no disparity of treatment. The extent of discretion must be compatible with the intellectual attainments of the Staff to whom the respective duties are delegated. Too much latitude must not be allowed, as otherwise the rules may become so loose that there is the risk of the procedures as laid down leaving too much scope for argument in favour of exceptional treatment. It is not possible to allow all and sundry to have access to any administrative level as this can lead to the danger of wires getting crossed.

Browning has a deeply ingrained awareness of the trouble which can arise from individuals cutting across the official channels. He has already noticed that scientists are given to this and to pleading special cases. Other examples of their unorthodox behaviour have also come to his notice. He firmly intends to take a balanced view as against the one-sided enthusiasm of the scientists. He excels in written work, having a very clear analytical mind. He is inclined to seek perfect solutions to administrative problems, and to postpone action till he gets near perfection. He has a high standard of intellectual honesty, but is rather inflexible. He likes to have uniform procedures, and believes that good administration consists in laying down policies capable of being embodied in precise regulations. He is very interested in the problems of the constitution and machinery of government. He tends to think in abstract terms, and his main effort is directed to constructing a smoothly running administrative machine, based on properly thought out regulations. He has a wide knowledge of financial control. He is shy and withdrawn and tends to be rather cautious. He does not like being pushed and takes some time to make up his mind. It is for this reason that he strongly distrusts enthusiasm.

Browning has a great interest in the organization of large-scale scientific research, on which he feels the future of the country depends. He has an administrator's suspicion of what he considers to be the scientist's one-

sidedness and irresponsible attitude to money. He therefore believes that all items of expenditure must be scrutinized and sanctioned at the appropriate level. To facilitate this he has laid down precise delegated authority. His minutes are a masterpiece of clarity and comprehensiveness and anticipate almost every possible contingency.

Browning does allow that exceptions to rules may have to be made occasionally, but he believes that this is bad administration and should be avoided as far as is humanly possible. He makes little allowance for people's idiosyncrasies, especially if he does not know them personally. He has a clear-cut conception of the average intelligence and educational attainments of the various ranks and classes of the Civil Service, and he always judges written instructions aimed at a specific group of officers from this point of view. The traditions in the ways of thinking of the Civil Service are so deeply ingrained in him that he becomes impatient with the scientists who do not understand them, require continuous explanations and are inclined to plead special cases. Browning has had very little first-hand contact with scientific staff, and has formed the impression that few of them have any understanding of administration. He gets very impatient with these scientists who in his view are unwilling or perhaps unable to explain to him in an intelligible way the nature of their work. As he is by temperament shy and unwilling to ask direct questions this causes a certain amount of hard feeling and some embarrassing situations.

Since he took up his appointment, Browning has paid one or two visits to the Director, Sir Alexander Urquhart. On the occasion of his first visit, Urquhart took him round the station in his car, and Browning formed the impression that too many people seemed to be walking around and talking in a leisurely way in the grounds. He felt they were rather slack, and as this is a project of paramount importance, he thought they ought to be making more effort and spending their time at their desks and benches. He wanted to have more information on the subject before he took any action, and he has been cautiously sounding his new Principal, Haigh-Burnett, in charge of the outstation activity. Although Haigh-Burnett was not very closely acquainted with the research establishment itself, Browning gathered from him that in his opinion the executive and clerical staff were not keeping good time, and that the scientific officers were "downright erratic." After due and careful consideration, Browning asked Haigh-Burnett to prompt the S.E.O. Wilson to tighten up the discipline amongst his staff. He decided also to raise the matter of discipline generally with the Director, Dr Urquhart, at an opportune occasion. This will be probably in September, and Browning has drafted a very careful memorandum to remind himself of the matter when the time becomes ripe.

The need for conducting official business at the appropriate level and strict adherence to protocol are to Browning fundamental principles of good administration. He is therefore rather annoyed with some of the scientific staff at the outstation who have been trying to get at him direct. He finds Hutchison rather irritating in particular, and feels that he may have been an extremely good manager in industry, but that he does not understand

the ways of the Civil Service. Hutchison has been pressing Browning very hard to get a loudspeaker intercommunication system sanctioned. He wants this to be installed immediately. Browning felt that the matter should have been dealt with through the Director anyway, and he formed the impression that Hutchison, as Deputy Director, is too lenient towards the staff. He also felt that the amount of time people spent in the grounds should be restricted and formed the suspicion that Hutchison was extravagant. He did not say any of this to Hutchison, but only impressed on him the necessity to economize. He emphasized that standard telephones were provided by the G.P.O. and there was an economic necessity for the bulk purchase of Government equipment. He promised Hutchison that he would give very careful consideration to the whole matter. Although Browning found Hutchison rather irritating, he was very polite to him. He did give a great deal of thought to the whole problem, and he added a few clauses to his memorandum for his next meeting with Dr Urquhart.

The name of the P.S.O. Brookland, as one of the key people in the outstation, has already been brought to Browning's notice. Hutchison had even been so unorthodox as to suggest that Brookland, who was very dissatisfied with administrative delays, should have a discussion with Browning about it. Hints were dropped occasionally by Browning's Principal, Haigh-Burnett, that Brookland was the most erratic of the lot, and that he had a demoralizing effect on the executive and clerical staff. Jokes were told occasionally about quarrels between some of Brookland's subordinates and the clerical staff in charge of stores, but Browning did not find these at all amusing. There was also trouble with the firm J. Jones, of Basingstoke, over a contract that Brookland had provisionally discussed with them without proper sanction.

Browning had no intention of meeting Brookland. Brookland's resignation and departure to America might actually be beneficial. As a principle of sound administration, Browning felt that having key men anywhere was a very dangerous weakness in the organization. A P.S.O., in Browning's view, is only a very small cog in the machine, and should not be indispensable. He fully appreciated the need for having outstanding people, of whom there are very few, as Directing Staff, since in his view it was the Director who prepared the general plan and decided the aim of the research. The Deputy Director should be responsible for the execution of the plan, and should divide the work into suitable portions to be allotted to sections; and P.S.O.s should be in charge of well-specified assignments consisting of experiments and calculations. Browning has decided to obtain some data on the organization of the most up-to-date research institutions to investigate the matter in some detail. He also looked up some statistics on the numbers of various specialists in the country, and he came to the tentative conclusion that it would not be too difficult to find a replacement for Brookland.

There are several other problems on Browning's hands. Haigh-Burnett, who is very much a military type of person, and likes quick action, keeps pressing for quick decisions when Browning feels that much more time is needed to weigh up all the implications.

Another Principal, Roberts, who has been recently appointed Finance Officer of the Department, whilst being partly responsible to another Assistant Secretary, works partly to Browning. The standard of his written work, Browning feels, is not adequate.

Browning has a very sharp legalistic mind, and if he is firmly convinced that an item of expenditure is necessary, he can make a case and get it sanctioned, without infringing any regulations governing the financial control of the Treasury. He feels he has to spend too much of his time returning Roberts' draft submissions to the Treasury with suggestions as to how they might be rephrased. He is trying to be as tactful about it as he can, but this is a great strain. Browning does not like circumventing any channel on principle, but he has many old friends in the Treasury and other Government Departments and he can always get their personal advice on and co-operation on particularly difficult cases.

At the last meeting of the Departmental Working Party, Dr Urquhart was very emphatic that Brookland's departure would mean a serious loss not only to the Ministry but to the whole country. Browning went away feeling that he ought to think the problem out again. He formed the impression, however, that Sir Alexander was exaggerating.

SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT

As seen by Hugh Browning, Assistant Secretary, Division 2

1. *Dealings with the Public Accounts Committee*

Very soon after his arrival, Browning had to prepare briefs for the Accounting Officer, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Scientific Policy and Planning, for his appearance before the Public Accounts Committee.

During the last few years a number of schemes were originated at the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment. These schemes started originally with what appeared to be quite a modest assessment by the scientific staff concerned of the cost involved. However, in many cases the expenditure had mounted out of all proportion to the original estimates long before the completion of the scheme was in sight. There is some apprehension in the Ministry, at a higher level, about the reactions to this of the Public Accounts Committee.

2. *Difficulties in Justifying Some of the Work in Hand*

In one or two instances the originators of the schemes in question have moved on to other work. Their successors not only failed to provide justification for the work concerned but showed no interest in the matter, and would not suggest any arguments in support. In the circumstances, Browning was left holding the baby.

3. *Breaches of Contract Procedure*

On several occasions members of the scientific staff at the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment have incautiously encouraged firms to do work for the Establishment before financial authority has been obtained or a proper contract drawn up.

This has often given firms undue advantage in negotiation, and has always led to administrative difficulty and irritation.

4. *Pointless Expenditure*

In some instances the casual manner of entering into arrangements with firms has committed the Department to wasteful and pointless expenditure. The scientific staff did not take into account the possibility of alterations in policy.

In fact, whilst these commitments were being carelessly entered into the policy was already under discussion, and various changes were imminent. Had the scientists in question followed the correct procedure, financial authority would not have been given. As it happened, firms had to be paid for work which was no longer needed.

5. *Slackness and Extravagance*

Hutchison, as Deputy Director, appears to be much too lenient towards his staff. One example of this is the whole idea of an intercommunication system of the type used by big business, especially in America. This, to Browning, is anathema, being entirely inconsistent with the moderate and modest methods of the Civil Service.

If Hutchison were to apply as much energy to keeping his staff at their work and to knowing where they were as to pressing his claim for some of these extravagant ideas, he would be able to get by perfectly well with the existing telephones.

6. *Casual Approach and Unreliability of Some Members of the Scientific Staff*

Many scientists seem unable to explain in an intelligible way the nature of their work. Since clear expression is a reflection of clear thinking, the esoteric jargon of some of the scientists must be a sign either of muddled thinking or of a deliberate and wilful desire to blind others with science.

Some of these people do not seem to be able or willing to understand even the simplest elements of financial procedure. Their attitude to money seems to be irresponsible and their schemes often much too ambitious. Because of this insufficient regard to the financial consequences of their actions, the technical people do not think around their schemes carefully enough before wanting to go ahead.

Some of the scientists alternately run hot and cold. Whilst a scientist may maintain emphatically that some particular work should be given the highest priority, the same work may be given scanty attention by his successor.

7. *Necessity for Tighter Administrative Control*

In these circumstances it is necessary to take firmly a balanced view, as against the particular enthusiasms of various members of scientific staff. All projects should be worked out in detail in advance and each item of expenditure scrutinized carefully by the administrative branches. These should be sanctioned at the appropriate level before any commitments are entered into and before any work is allowed to proceed.

*KENNETH HAIGH-BURNETT, PRINCIPAL, DIVISION 2**Age 42*

- 1938 Second Class Classical Tripos, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1938 Joined Royal Armoured Corps as cadet.
- 1940 Commissioned 12th Lancers. Posted to Egypt.
- 1941 Wounded in action, Western Desert. Awarded M.C.
- 1941 Downgraded medically and appointed Staff Captain G.H.Q., Cairo. Rose rapidly to Lieutenant-Colonel.
- 1945 Joined Control Commission for Germany after period of convalescence. Distinguished himself by organizing speedy reconstruction work and by energetically conducting large-scale rebuilding operations.
- 1949 Joined War Office as Principal. Made a reputation for drive and energetic action.
- 1957 Transferred to D.F.R. to Division 2, under Assistant Secretary Browning, as Principal in charge of outstation activities.

Kenneth Haigh-Burnett is a man of extraordinarily quick powers of decision and action. He has been specially chosen to fill this position because of the skill and speed with which he can organize and conduct large-scale operations. He is a firm disciplinarian, and inclined to be ruthless with his subordinates, especially when speed is vital. One of the main reasons for his importation is that a number of new buildings are to be erected and new and large testing sites are to be developed. This will require very skilful co-ordination and pressing people to achieve targets set within the specified time limits.

Haigh-Burnett feels badly frustrated since he has hardly been able to make much progress since his appointment. His Assistant Secretary, Browning, does not like being pressed for decisions, and Haigh-Burnett knows that biding his time is the best policy with Browning, but it goes very much against the grain. He knows perfectly well, however, that Browning wants to think out very carefully all possible implications and contingencies. He also likes to agree with all parties concerned, at the appropriate level, any action to be taken. Haigh-Burnett feels that he should have been given far more of a free hand if he is to get quick results, and occasionally takes the law into his own hands.

Before the main part of the development programme can be started, Haigh-Burnett requires various decisions and detailed specifications from the scientists. He finds, to his dismay, that they refuse to make up their minds until they are in possession of the full information they require. Even when they have made a decision they frequently propose modifications, and what they consider to be improvements. Brookland in particular has been very emphatic that he needs very specially designed and built testing sites, but he also insisted that he could not give the necessary details until he had concluded a series of experiments. The progress of these experiments was being hampered, in Brookland's opinion, by the unduly cumbersome procedures of financial control.

Haigh-Burnett is disturbed by the low standards of punctuality amongst

the clerical and executive staff in the outstation. He feels that this is due in the last resort to the slackness and erratic behaviour of the scientists. One of the most disturbing features is the fact that none of the scientists can be located when they are wanted and in Haigh-Burnett's view this induces a careless and negligent attitude among all junior ranks.

The Deputy Director, Hutchison, was approached by Haigh-Burnett about this. He said that it was necessary for the scientists to be in the field a great deal, and also to be free and unhampered, and Haigh-Burnett would get used to it in time. Haigh-Burnett did not take very kindly to this last remark.

As part of his campaign to restore efficiency in the establishment, Haigh-Burnett reminded Wilson of the need to tighten up the discipline amongst his subordinates on the site to conform to regulations. All clerical and executive staff were required to be at their desks by 9.00 a.m. and they were not to leave until 5.30 p.m. Meal breaks were to be limited to the prescribed 60 minutes. Special efforts were to be made to speed up the work.

Haigh-Burnett treats the S.E.O. Wilson, in a military fashion, as if he were an N.C.O. He is very curt and formal, and does not invite discussion or comment on any point.

NEIL ROBERTS, PRINCIPAL, DIVISION 2

Age 35

1939 Passed Clerical Officer examination, Admiralty.

1941 Volunteered for Navy.

1944 Commissioned.

1947 Demobilized with the rank of Lieutenant.

1947 Joined D.F.R. as E.O.

1951 Passed Limited Administrative Examination.

1955 Promoted Principal and attached to Inter-Planetary Research Project.

Roberts is a very sociable man, understands the point of view of scientists and is trying to help them. He speaks the same language as the Administrative and Executive officers he deals with. He has many friends in the Civil Service both at his own level and below, which makes it easy for him to speed up procedures connected with financial control. He is not particularly keen on paper work, which he feels is often a sheer formality, and sometimes quite unnecessary. He is very keen on the Inter-Planetary project, and when Division 2 was created had hopes of being put in charge of it, but did not like the idea of being made Finance Officer of the Department. He does not like Finance work. He was at first prepared to collaborate with Browning in furthering the expansion of the outstation. After a short period, however, he formed the strong conviction that Browning's outlook was not at all calculated to foster the development of research. He resents the way Browning sends back his drafts, and feels left out in the cold.

He takes umbrage when Browning endeavours to instruct him in the ways of the Treasury, and indulges in what Roberts considers pontificating about the principles of sound administration, and using the proper channels. Quite

often when Roberts, after much hard work, has failed to obtain sanction for some items of expenditure from the Treasury, he finds that Browning through his wide contacts at Assistant Secretary and higher levels can push things through quite easily.

Haigh-Burnett is very much a thorn in Roberts' flesh. Not only has Haigh-Burnett taken over the job on which Roberts was very keen, but he keeps Roberts at a distance. Moreover, although Roberts senses that there is some friction between Browning and Haigh-Burnett, as far as he is concerned, they maintain a common front. Roberts' reaction to this treatment is to be as awkward and stubborn as possible.

BRIAN WILSON, SENIOR EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Age 42

1932 Passed Clerical Officer examination, General Post Office.

1939 Joined Army. Eventually promoted Sergeant.

1946 Demobilized. Joined D.F.R. Promoted Executive Officer. Joined Contracts Division.

1951 Promoted Higher Executive Officer.

1956 Promoted Senior Executive Officer and transferred to Inter-Planetary Research Station.

Wilson is a man of some imagination, but he hardly ever had any opportunity to display it in his life. He has been trained in a very disciplinarian way in the Army, in a rigid school of adherence to regulations, without always understanding the reasons for them. He hankers sometimes after a more independent and creative sort of work, but his training has become his second nature. His life in the Civil Service conformed to the same pattern. The Post Office was very strict and ruthless about regulations, and in the Contracts Division of the D.F.R. he tried on several occasions to exercise initiative, but his supervisor came down on him very hard each time.

When Roberts was Principal at H.Q. in charge of the outstation activities he used to encourage Wilson to be more imaginative and independent and he always backed him up whenever regulations had to be stretched or interpreted in an unusual way. At the time when he worked to Mr. Roberts, Wilson started feeling more courageous in departing from strict adherence to instructions. Also he found the new Deputy Director, Dr Hutchison, very understanding and approachable and since Hutchison's appointment he has learned quite a lot about the ways of scientists and the nature of their work. Since, however, Mr. Haigh-Burnett had taken over the administration of the outstation activities at H.Q. things had reverted to what they were before. Mr. Haigh-Burnett treats Wilson in a curt and formal manner as if he were an N.C.O. in the Army, and Wilson's second nature re-asserts itself again. Mr Roberts, to whom Wilson reports now on matters of finance, does not encourage him any longer. On the contrary he has become himself sticky over expenditure and he seems somewhat embittered. This has a bad effect on Wilson who feels that he has lost a friend. He has been given large

responsibilities since the new arrangement was put into operation, as a result of which all the Sectional and Departmental E.Os. and H.E.Os. are under his direct authority. With the best will in the world he finds he has to adhere strictly to regulations since there is no time to think.

Wilson is proud of his present job, and of the fact that he is contributing to the progress of science in his country. He would have liked to be a scientist himself, but unfortunately his education was cut short. He has a secret admiration for the scientists and is jealous that all the scientific and experimental classes and even Assistants (Scientific) have so much freedom. He finds some of the scientists somewhat supercilious and unwilling to understand his point of view or the nature of his duties. In particular, Dr Brookland hardly ever stops to talk to him casually and when official business is discussed, Brookland tends to lose his temper. Dr Hutchison was able to help Wilson to understand the way the scientists' minds work but he seems lately to have to attend so many meetings outside the station that together with the new responsibilities given to Wilson there is no time to talk.

SIR ALEXANDER URQUHART, F.R.S., DIRECTOR, INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT

Sir Alexander is about 60. He had a brilliant academic career and was a Nobel Prize winner at an early age. His work lies chiefly in the field of astrophysics.

He is a man of great wisdom and foresight, and he possesses considerable influence in scientific and government circles. He was amongst the first to think of inter-planetary travel as a practical possibility, and to appreciate the international importance of research in this field. His writings influenced the decision to set up the Inter-Planetary Establishment in 1930.

In 1947, he was invited to become Director of the Establishment. In order to accept the post he had to resign his Professorship and a Fellowship of a Cambridge College. He regretted giving up academic work, but inter-planetary research seemed to him to have the first priority.

Eight years ago, in 1950, Sir Alexander foresaw that the problems of inter-planetary travel would soon become of paramount importance. Accordingly, he had plans prepared for new research laboratories, which he considered to be indispensable if Great Britain was to keep abreast of new developments. The estimated cost was £5 million.

The plans went up to the Standing Committee on Allocation of Research Funds (S.C.A.R.F.) and as the importance of the matter was recognized, agreement in principle was speedily given. It was felt, however, that some economies could be achieved by a detailed scrutiny of the plans.

At first, it was suggested that some of the equipment proposed by Sir Alexander was too modern, not yet of tested value, and much too expensive. The estimates were changed, to more stereotyped apparatus, but by the time the matter was considered again by S.C.A.R.F., this had become obsolete.

SCIENTISTS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS

At a certain stage, after much detailed work, agreement was almost reached, when, as a result of national economy, action was postponed.

Many documents had to be written, some detailed, and some general, and Sir Alexander slowly came to the conclusion that this was consuming much too much of his time. He never knew who was ultimately responsible for the decisions, and he could not keep track of all the committees involved. The members of the committees seemed to be constantly changing. He found the procedure of giving evidence personally excruciating, and he rarely felt that he was being understood, especially as the members of the various committees rarely visited the site. He felt that he was being treated with suspicion, and his enthusiasm was distrusted.

He was asked to justify exactly the reasons for his requirements. Another suggestion was that his plan for research should be broken into stages, and that he should give dates by which each stage of research could be completed. Sir Alexander found these suggestions impossible to comply with, and he found it also extremely difficult to explain to the members of the various committees why this was so. As a scientist he knew himself that unexpected events happen at each stage and that preparation of long-term plans is futile. Scientists have to feel their way towards things not yet known, and in this work they rely largely on their intuition, foresight, and technical understanding, which is difficult to convey to laymen. Adherence to any plans or schedules laid down in advance has only a stifling effect. It is not quite clear what needs to be done until the time is ripe.

Dr Urquhart, who is a kind and benign man lost heart a few years ago, as in spite of the agreement in principle no action could be taken. He felt that a straightforward refusal would have been preferable. He is a member of several learned institutions, and sits on a number of committees, both national and international, and Governing Bodies of one or two Universities. He is also invited to present addresses at international meetings. He feels he has several valuable contributions still to make to astronomy which he considers much more important than administrative work. As he is nearing retiring age he feels that most of the time he spends in the Inter-Planetary Establishment should be devoted to his own work and supervising his assisting staff. He has made a special effort to get a young and energetic man known to be a good manager as his deputy so that he can delegate his administrative work to him.

DR GEOFFREY HUTCHISON, SENIOR PRINCIPAL SCIENTIFIC OFFICER

Age 45

1936 B.Sc. Special Physics, King's College, London. First-class Honours.

1936-39 Bett Fellowship at Imperial College for experimental research into the properties of electrical servo-systems.

1939 Ph.D.

1939-41 Royal Naval Scientific Service (R.N.S.S.) engaged in research on remote power control systems at Admiralty Gunnery Establishment, Teddington.

- 1941 Posted to the Admiralty, D.N.C., Admiralty, Bath, as S.S.O. to do advanced work on the automatic stabilization of vessels.
- 1946 Joined the firm of Mackintosh and Company Limited as assistant manager, Ship Stabilization, Research and Development.
- 1950 Became Assistant Chief Engineer in charge of Automatic Control, with a staff of 12 engineers and scientists under him (salary: £1,800).
- 1956 Offered the position at the Inter-Planetary Research Establishment as Deputy Director of the Establishment, and that of the Department of Atmospheric Phase of Inter-Planetary Travel, with the rank of S.P.S.O. His special responsibilities are for the section dealing with electronic systems involved in automatic and remote control of inter-planetary vehicles.

Published several papers in learned periodicals and in technical press on the design and properties of multiple servo-loops.

Geoffrey Hutchison is a man of outstanding ability in the field of design and construction of servo-loops and stabilizers. He is a very sociable man of heavy stature and cheerful appearance, a "hail fellow well met" type of person. He is a good committee man, very quick in the uptake and always ready to produce several different suggestions, some of which turn out later to be very fruitful and others impracticable. He is a man of considerable enthusiasm, ambitious and far sighted.

He has been attracted to the Civil Service partly for financial reasons and partly because of the prospect of greater facilities for research. Also he felt that his previous work was somehow too restricted. Since he came, however, to the Inter-Planetary Establishment he finds that too much of his time is spent in administrative duties and in attending various committees both inside and outside the outstation. Also he feels that there are a great many sources of inefficiency arising out of various administrative procedures and he has been battling with the Headquarters sometimes with moderate results and sometimes to no good effect. One example of the inefficiency he is trying to remedy is the inappropriate internal communication system. It is extremely difficult to get in touch with anyone on the telephone or in person since the scientific officers and the directing staff spend a great deal of their time in the testing grounds or walking between various offices and laboratories. There are widely scattered as a precaution against fire which may arise out of rocketry experiments. Hutchison has been endeavouring to get installed an intercommunication system using loudspeakers but this proposal is being objected to by the Headquarters on the grounds that standard telephones are being provided by the Post Office which facilitates bulk purchase. Hutchison knows that with many outside and inside commitments a long time may elapse before one member of the staff consults another, and that this, both in terms of their salaries and morale leads to great financial loss. He has not been able, however, to persuade Headquarters so far.

The pressure of administrative work has taken Hutchison away from what he feels to be his proper job and his real interest and that is to supervise large-scale research into servo-mechanisms, high-sensitivity stabilizers and,

generally, advanced methods of automatic and remote control. He is a good manager and, on the whole gets on very well with junior ranks, the scientific assistants and the messengers and with people engaged in manual work.

He understands very well the point of view of the scientists and also of the S.E.O. Wilson who complains about their vagaries. He has been able to modify Wilson's attitude to some extent.

His main source of worry is his relationship with the P.S.O.s subordinate to him whose work is not within his own speciality, since he cannot give them any guidance in connection with their research problems. He has selected himself Richard Humphreys, P.S.O. in charge of electronics and automatic control and gets on with him very well. Humphreys treats Hutchison with great respect as an authority in his field and derives from him a great deal of inspiration. Hutchison's relations with other P.S.O.s under his command although superficially friendly are somewhat aloof and distant and he does not see a great deal of them. His approach is that of bonhomie and camaraderie but he knows that they are frustrated and disgruntled and that they need a great deal more support than he is able to give them. His particular worry is Brookland. Hutchison thinks of Brookland very highly and needs him very much as a key man. Hutchison himself is no mathematician and he is only distantly acquainted with the specific problems of aerodynamics of the atmospheric phase of interplanetary flight. Hutchison is always prepared, in a carefree manner, to throw up a suggestion in a field which is not his own and he will readily and gladly retract it if he is proved wrong by experiment or argument. He finds, however, that Brookland sulks and frowns and tends to become flustered when he gets the impression that Hutchison is misinformed. This creates sometimes extremely embarrassing situations. Hutchison is quite easy and feels free to say that his mathematics are rusty, or that he is not well up in this or that subject. This worked very well in industry and in the armed forces but he finds that here most P.S.O.s, S.S.O.s and S.O.s with more academic background tend to withdraw with signs of slight irritation in reaction to such remarks more especially if they happen to be working under him. Hutchison feels that he has to supervise too many people whose speciality is different from his own, and that the pressure of administrative work, which he as Deputy Director has to undertake, is such that it leaves him no time to keep up with literature or developments in the fields of his P.S.O.s.

He has been receiving an increasing number of complaints from Wilson that the behaviour of scientific staff gives very bad example and has a demoralizing effect on Wilson's subordinates. Wilson used to be more tolerant before and Hutchison had good hopes that he would be able, in due course, to educate Wilson and other Executive staff in the ways of scientists. Since the arrival of Haigh-Burnett at H.Q., however, Wilson has become much more bureaucratic, very disciplinarian with respect to his own subordinates and unwilling to budge an inch from the regulations.

The Director, Sir Alexander Urquhart, has so many official and academic commitments that he is hardly ever present in the station. Hutchison has great respect for him but wishes he could give more support.

Hutchison often regrets he had left his previous employers.

Hutchison opposed the new arrangements proposed by Haigh-Burnett. He feels that the scientific and experimental staff had started fitting in better with the ways of the Civil Service, and this new, more disciplinarian regime amongst the Executive staff might induce in them again a more cynical view.

SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT

As seen by the Deputy Director, Dr Hutchison

1. *Administrative Duties and Dealings with S.C.A.R.F.*

Dr Hutchison finds that the administrative duties consume most of his time, partly due to the fact that Sir Alexander Urquhart is very often away in connection with his academic and other commitments. Dealings with S.C.A.R.F. (Standing Committee on Allocation of Research Funds) consumes a great deal of his energy and effort. Whilst giving evidence at the recent meeting, he felt that most members of the Committee did not understand the purpose of his proposed large-scale simulator or why he considered it to be indispensable. He felt he was treated with suspicion and most of the questions were not so much scientifically relevant as, to his mind, phrased as if the questioners were trying "to catch him out." On each occasion he gives evidence he has to wait for a long time until his item is discussed and then he has to leave the room whilst a decision is being discussed. This he finds is a great drag, not only on his time, but also on his powers of endurance and whilst he is away from the Establishment, he feels that the work there gets behind. In his previous position in industry, he was accustomed to much more expeditious handling of affairs.

Members of S.C.A.R.F. and other Committees hardly ever come down to see the site or to inspect the laboratories in any detail, and Dr Hutchison is of the opinion that in these circumstances it is not possible to make the submissions for various items of expenditure intelligible. He has had to redraft his reports already several times; sometimes the report is returned because it is too detailed and sometimes because it is not comprehensive enough. Sometimes the report is said to be too technical and the next version is returned on the grounds of being too general.

Apart from the large-scale simulator, whose estimated cost is £1 million, Dr Hutchison had to take over from Sir Alexander Urquhart the S.C.A.R.F. work in connection with Dr Urquhart's plans for a new research laboratory, whose cost is estimated to be £5 million. This was because Sir Alexander feels that his scientific work and his various commitments do not allow him to spend so much time on administration. Moreover, Sir Alexander feels that he is a scientist, does not speak the same language as the administrators and Dr Hutchison as a younger man and an experienced manager from industry will have more energy and be more able to steer the projects through the Committee procedure without any unnecessary delays.

2. *Shortage of Staff*

It is very difficult to get really good people as Scientific Officers or Senior

Scientific Officers. Since Defence Departments became interested in the Inter-Planetary Research project, all the applicants have to wait at least six months to be security-cleared. In the meantime, most people with good degrees and reasonable reputations are offered positions in industry with no delay and at much higher salaries. There is a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration amongst scientific staff, more especially if they have experience of either academic life or industry. If an officer is invited to deliver a lecture to some scientific meeting, he has to obtain (a) permission in principle, (b) the permission to attend the conference, (c) the approval of the final text of his lecture, (d) the permission to travel.

Accounts of these circumstances leak out to the public and deter many potential candidates from applying.

3. *Negative Attitudes and Dissatisfaction Among the Staff*

Many scientific officers, although senior to the executive and clerical staff, continually argue with them over trifling items of expenditure or stores equipment. The scientists do not like bothering their senior officers with such trivial matters and they often fail to understand that the executive staff are regulation-bound and accountable to the Chief Administrative Officer, the S.E.O. Wilson.

Although some of the more senior members of the scientific staff adopt a more jocular and good-humoured attitude towards these problems, the general opinion is that these are a source of a great waste of time and lead to considerable friction and hard feeling. It is often argued that if a man is entrusted with official secrets and his judgement often involves the purchase and operation of equipment whose value runs into many thousands of pounds, his integrity should not be questioned in the matter of shillings. An example of this is an allowance when a main meal has to be taken on the train. An officer is allowed a few shillings extra if he can present the bill, but his own signature will not be taken in lieu of this. There are complaints about the inadequacy of the entertainment allowance.

On one or two occasions of emergency members of scientific and experimental staff had to work extra hours and used their own transport which, in some instances, required using a taxi. They felt they should have their out-of-pocket expenses refunded, but this was refused on administrative grounds, as not conforming to regulations. On the other hand, they were offered a bonus. The offer was rejected with indignation.

4. *Stationery and Other Equipment*

The supply of paper, writing materials and photographic equipment is controlled centrally by a Government department, as a result of which it is almost impossible to obtain other than stock items. Also the issue of certain items is restricted due to the economy drive. This has led to quarrels between junior experimental staff and the stores staff over such trifling matters as coloured pencils and graph paper and some of the P.S.O.s and S.P.S.O.s have been complaining to Hutchison that these matters are brought to them by their S.O.s and S.S.O.s and that they themselves would prefer not to be

bothered with these problems which are clearly below the threshold of triviality.

One of Hutchison's colleagues, an S.P.S.O. in charge of a department, required some paper clips of larger size and designed differently from the stock items. Having learned from his executive staff how much effort and paper work was needed, he gave up.

Many members of the scientific staff maintain that the library allowance is not adequate and that they find it difficult to keep up to date with many developments due to the fact that books arrive with considerable delay inherent in the sanctioning procedures.

The supply of ordinary bookshelves in the offices is severely restricted due to the economy drive by a central Government department. On the other hand, expensive cupboards for laboratory instruments with glass doors and panels are much easier to obtain. Many members of the scientific staff install these in their offices. This has a demoralizing effect on the others.

5. Delays and Errors Caused by the Existing Procedures

Many members of the scientific staff are held up in their work for long periods of time due to the need to have the items of expenditure sanctioned at the appropriate level. Apart from that, on one or two occasions the items of equipment eventually delivered were not the ones requested by members of the scientific staff.

An example of this was a thermostatic oven required by one of the sections. The S.S.O. who needed it for his work, investigated very carefully the existing types of equipment and had chosen a particular make, costing about £60 as against the average price of £40. His reason was that the particular make selected gave him a sufficiently fine continuous scale of values to which the required temperature could be set. The oven finally delivered, after a lapse of three months, had a 5-point scale for high, low and middle temperatures, &c., and although it cost only £45, it was completely useless. The H.E.O. responsible for the alteration had acted on the basis of strict instructions to economize and to avoid delays. Thus, on the basis of his own knowledge of technical and trade literature he had selected an item which seemed near enough and cheaper and did not consult the S.S.O. in order to speed up the matter. Thus, a research project costing about £5,000 was delayed for over six months.

DR GEORGE BROOKLAND, PRINCIPAL SCIENTIFIC OFFICER
Age 33

1947 Mathematical Tripos, Cambridge, First-Class Honours.

1947-50 D.S.I.R. Research Studentship Grant for work on mathematical theory of aerodynamics at Imperial College, London.

1950 Ph.D.

1950-53 de Havilland Fellowship in mathematical theory of atmospheric rocket flight, Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge.

1953-55 Commonwealth Fellowship for mathematical work on the Aero-

dynamic aspects of the intercontinental missiles at Princeton Institute of Advanced Studies.

1955-57 Rockefeller Senior Research Fellowship for mathematical and experimental research into the aerodynamic aspect of the atmospheric phase of interplanetary flight. £800 per annum.

1957 Recruited into Inter-Planetary Establishment as P.S.O. to do similar work.

Published several papers in learned periodicals.

Dr George Brookland is believed amongst some of the scientists to be one of the very few specialists in his subject in the country. He is thought to be very talented and several very eminent people have expressed the view that he is capable of contributing a great deal more work of fundamental importance and that he is likely to go very far in his scientific career.

Ordinarily, Brookland is somewhat shy and withdrawn, but he is quite liable to get het up especially when discussing frustrating points of administration with people whom he feels do not understand his point of view. Amongst scientists he has several very close friends, but other members of the staff find him aloof and his views often difficult to understand. Members of the Executive and Clerical staff at the Establishment, and also some of the Administrative staff, are occasionally puzzled by his sudden flashes of inexplicable anger, sometimes over matters which they consider to be very small. It is at such moments, in particular, that people find it not easy to understand what he says. It is well known that he does not like to be contradicted, and that he hardly bothers to discuss his work with people whom he does not consider to be capable of understanding it.

Brookland is a moody sort of person. He seems to be very much liked and looked up to by some members of his own staff, whereas others find him stand-offish and disconcerting. He has been making great efforts to be able to select his own staff. With some he gets on quite well but dislikes having staff allocated to him by headquarters. He has a reputation for being a lone wolf. It is well known that he is very ambitious and very keen on his research. He seems to be living with his work and to be constantly preoccupied by it. Although he has a number of interests, he is not given to small talk. He is very unorthodox in his ways. For example, he does not keep very regular office hours, and on one or two occasions he has been known to have stayed overnight at the station without any arrangements having been made before. The fact that the windows of his room were left open has given a certain amount of trouble to the police and security people. He seems to have some aversion to giving any details of his movements, or instructions about where he is to be found, and very often forgets to do so, so that it is sometimes very difficult to locate him when he is wanted.

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APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BRING OUT VARIOUS ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES RAISED BY THE
CASE STUDY, "THE INTER-PLANETARY RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT."

PREPARED BY Z. M. T. TARKOWSKI AND AVICE V. TURNBULL.

I. *Causes of Difficulties*

1. *Legal and Political System*

- (a) Is "Government by committee" the best system to administer scientific research? Are there too many committees? Is the membership of the committees changed too frequently? Has one individual to serve on too many committees? Are the right people serving on committees?
- (b) Is the present system of Government finance, which is the outcome of the long struggle between Crown and Parliament for the control of the nation's money, most appropriate in the modern conditions of rapid technological change?
- (c) Is the detailed accountability to Parliament in the form of :
 - (i) presentation of detailed estimates,
 - (ii) scrutiny by the Exchequer and Audit and by the Public Accounts Committee,
 - (iii) replies to Parliamentary Questions,to blame for some administrative delays?

2. *Organization*

- (a) Is the central control of the following matters a serious reason for inefficiency and delays :
 - (i) financial control by the Treasury and departments,
 - (ii) supply of books, stationery, office equipment, automatic calculators, photographic equipment, etc., by the Stationery Office,
 - (iii) supply of intercommunication systems by the G.P.O.,
 - (iv) supply of buildings and other equipment by the Ministry of Works,
 - (v) central recruiting services by the Civil Service Commission,
 - (vi) contract and other regulations?
- (b) Is uniformity of treatment of staff desirable in matters of conduct and discipline such as :
 - (i) subsistence allowances,
 - (ii) travelling expenses,
 - (iii) entertainment allowances,
 - (iv) hours of work, etc.?
- (c) From the point of view of fostering scientific research, what are the advantages and disadvantages of the system existing in, say,

II.

the following :

- (i) Ministry of Supply,
 - (ii) D.S.I.R.,
 - (iii) Medical Research Council,
 - (iv) Agricultural Research Council,
 - (v) Admiralty research,
 - (vi) Atomic Energy Authority,
 - (vii) Nationalized and other industries,
 - (viii) Universities,
 - (ix) Autonomous research institutions and other bodies ?
- (d) Is the system over-hierarchical ? Is the practice of dealing with colleagues at specified levels a source of delay ? Do the members of the directing staff have to supervise personally too many subordinates or too many diverse activities ? Is there too much paper work ? Is there enough informal personal contact between various specialists, levels, and classes in the Civil Service ? Should an expert's case be presented by a non-expert, e.g. by an administrator, to a policy-making or a controlling body, e.g. to the Treasury or to a committee ?

3. Education

To what extent do differences in the following aspects contribute to misunderstandings or friction :

- (i) general background,
- (ii) academic education,
- (iii) previous experience of all types of academic research, war service, industrial experience, types of official duty ?

4. Direction and Supervision of Individual Members of Staff, and Personal Relations

Is enough attention and time given to what should be the right relationship between :

- (i) supervisors and subordinates at different levels,
- (ii) experts and non-experts,
- (iii) specialists of different kinds ?

II. Remedies

1. Reorganization

- (a) What form of major reorganization would be advisable ?
- (b) What improvements, if any, could be made within the existing system without large-scale reorganization ? How could these improvements be introduced ?

2. Training

- (a) Is a conference such as this helpful towards overcoming existing problems ?

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

- (b) Does it provide the opportunity for informal contact and discussion if this is what is needed?
- (c) Should more such conferences be organized? If so, at what levels?
- (d) What other types of conferences or courses would be helpful, e.g. within the same Department, or by mixing ranks?

3. *Long-term Training*

- (a) Are there any forms of prolonged and more intensive training, such as, say, full-time or sandwich courses lasting more than six months or a year, which could help to reduce the difficulties of administering research?
- (b) If no such courses are in existence, what would be the pattern on which they could be organized so as to meet the existing need?

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Parliamentary Control of Delegated Legislation in Northern Ireland

By S. A. WALKLAND

The writer is indebted to Major G. Thomson, D.S.O., M.A., Clerk of the Parliaments of Northern Ireland and Secretary to the Joint Select Committee on Statutory Rules, Orders and Regulations, for information used in this survey. The views expressed are, of course, the writer's own.

He is a Lecturer in Politics in the University of Sheffield

IN his account of the Government of Northern Ireland written in 1936, Professor Nicholas Mansergh drew attention to the fact that the devolution of restricted legislative functions to a Northern Ireland Parliament under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 had not obviated the need for further delegation of discretionary powers to the corresponding regional executive. From this he drew what was then the fairly novel conclusion that the reasons for delegating legislative powers to executive agencies were inherent in the nature of modern administration, since in the circumstances of the Northern Ireland legislature the practice could not be attributed to lack of Parliamentary time for the consideration of legislative detail.¹

The success of the Northern Ireland scheme of devolution is due largely to the skill shown by Unionist Governments in maintaining broad parity with Great Britain in the more important fields of public policy, whilst making considerable differences in administration to suit local conditions. In this connection Professor Mansergh noted that in six typical pre-war years an annual average of 28 Public General Acts were passed by the Northern Ireland Parliament, whilst the annual output of subordinate legislation in the form of Statutory Rules and Orders issued by the seven (now eight) Northern Ireland Departments ranged between 64 and 123. Since 1945 British policy in welfare legislation has been broadly duplicated in Northern Ireland, with a corresponding increase in the extent of the powers delegated to Northern Ireland Departments, and parity with Great Britain in the social services is now interpreted to mean that changes in British administrative, no less than in legislative policy, are usually followed fairly closely. These factors combine to increase the legislative activity of the regional executive to an extent which can be gauged from the fact that, in the 1957-58 session of the Northern Ireland Parliament, of 30 Public General Acts half were in the form of enabling legislation conferring powers on various Ministries, and a total of 310 S.R. & O.s were published, of which 284 were laid before the Legislature. Control of delegated legislation is now a major Parliamentary function, and it is of interest to inquire how effectively a regional Parliament disposes of more ample time and a superior knowledge of local conditions to exercise supervision in a sphere where the Westminster Parliament has experienced considerable difficulty.

STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS

Statutory requirements concerning delegated legislation in Northern Ireland

are broadly similar to those applying in the rest of the United Kingdom, both in respect of publication and in particular provisions governing supervision by the Northern Ireland House of Commons and Senate. The Statutory Instruments Act applies to subordinate legislation affecting Northern Ireland made by Imperial Departments and "laid" at Westminster, but not to S.R. & O.s made by Northern Ireland Departments under domestic legislation of the Northern Ireland Parliament on "transferred" matters.¹ Before 1925 the publication of these was regulated by the 1893 Rules Publication Act—very imperfectly, since in the form in which it was adapted the Act covered only a few Northern Ireland rule-making authorities. In 1925 a Northern Ireland Rules Publication Act repealed the 1893 Act in so far as it applied to Northern Ireland, but followed the same general pattern in securing that Northern Ireland S.R. & O.s should be published and classified in an annual volume in the same manner as S.R. & O.s of the central Government. This early measure also anticipated many of the reforms usually associated with the Statutory Instruments Act. The 1925 Act applies to all subordinate legislation made under statutes of the Northern Ireland Parliament, whether subject to Parliamentary proceedings or not, requires a suitably short standard "laying" period for S.R. & O.s laid before the Northern Ireland Parliament, and includes provision for extending the scope of the Act to rule-making authorities other than those specified, by Regulations made under it.* The only significant difference between Northern Ireland and U.K. requirements as they stand at present is that the Northern Ireland Act contains no provisions corresponding to sections 4-6 of the Statutory Instruments Act, designed to regulate the steps in bringing subordinate legislation before Parliament. Except in one important category of S.R. & O.s (dealt with below), Northern Ireland standards of promptness in "laying" seem to be fairly high without the statutory sanction.

From the standpoint of special Parliamentary controls the usual division of subordinate legislation is into three broad classes :

- (a) Instruments subject to the "negative" procedure of a motion to annul ;
- (b) Those requiring an "affirmative" resolution for their validity ;
- (c) Those laid for information only, and not subject to any special procedure.

The proportion of Northern Ireland S.R. & O.s in each division is rather different from that of U.K. statutory instruments. The third category comprises about one-third of the total S.R. & O.s, of which most are private and local Orders, as are some of the first and second. Of the general S.R. & O.s, about 80 per cent. are subject to one or other form of control, as opposed to 70 per cent. for the U.K.

Since 1946 the limitations of control in this sphere at Westminster have become fairly explicit. The outright rejection of an instrument is seldom obtained, and control has come to be regarded as a process carried on almost exclusively between Government and Opposition and limited to securing discussion of particular aspects of Departmental policy, the airing of individual

*The authority for making Regulations under the Act is the Northern Ireland Minister of Finance with the concurrence of the Lord Chief Justice and the Speakers of the House of Commons and Senate.

grievances, and an occasional voluntary amendment of a Statutory Instrument by the Minister concerned. The political situation in the Northern Ireland Parliament, where a permanent Unionist majority is leavened only by a few Nationalist Members, two nominal Independents and an occasional addition from the Northern Ireland Labour Party, serves to emphasise these limitations on control. Criticism in any volume has to come from the Government benches, and this is one explanation of a generally low level of activity in this sphere. Since 1946 there have been only 18 motions to annul S.R. & O.s subject to the "negative" procedure in the Northern Ireland House of Commons—21 if composite motions against related sets of Regulations are counted separately. Proceedings in the Senate have given rise to five or six. All have been debated, some at length, and no motion failed for lack of a quorum. After some interest in 1946, when administrative provisions under the Northern Ireland Housing and Public Health and Local Government Acts of that year gave rise to three motions to annul, there was no activity in 1947-48, probably because the Parliament was preoccupied with new social legislation, the Northern Ireland equivalent of the British measures of the previous year. In the 1948-49 session the "follow up" to this in the form of lengthy and complex schedules of Regulations under the Northern Ireland Health and Education Acts of 1947 and National Assistance Act of 1948 were laid before Parliament and produced the heaviest activity of any post-war session. Eleven motions for annulment were moved in the Commons, eight by members of the Joint Select Committee on Statutory Rules, Orders and Regulations—the Northern Ireland scrutiny committee which made upwards of twenty Reports to Parliament in this particular session. After this flurry, only sporadic annulment motions have been provoked, in 1952-53 by the Civil Service Superannuation Regulations and in the following session against Court Rules for the adoption of children and grammar school admission and scholarship Regulations.

S.R. & O.s requiring affirmative resolutions have received somewhat more attention. Of the considerable number of instruments of this type to come before Parliament in this period, probably half have been local and private Orders of statutory bodies such as the Ulster Transport Authority, which seldom arouse interest. About half the rest, which include important draft Regulations proposed under social legislation, have attracted interventions with an ensuing debate, occasionally restricted to a laudatory exchange between the Minister and his supporters, but often wide-ranging and prolonged. Although on one or two occasions Unionist party solidarity wavered, no affirmative resolution failed of a necessary majority in the Commons in this period.

In the circumstances of the Northern Ireland Parliament proceedings on S.R. & O.s cannot be used to any extent as a tactical party weapon, and "political" motions to annul or counter-motions against affirmative resolutions have been very few, sponsored usually by a Labour M.P. and supported by Nationalist Members on the principle of "any stick to beat the Government." The standard of intervention from this source is not high, and

performed its duties its authority with both Government and Parliament is slight. Parliamentary action seldom ensues from its activities unless members of the Committee are prepared to move the requisite annulments, nor can it claim any substantial success in raising standards of Departmental practice. With dark references to Lord Hewart's "New Despotism," it has attacked a number of Orders excluding challenge in the courts and giving discretion to Ministers to modify and adapt enactments, and these types of provision are unlikely to reappear. Special Reports of the Committee have directed attention to deficient enabling provisions in parent Acts, and deprecated the complex wording of some subordinate legislation and the Departmental practice of legislating by reference to earlier Regulations without adequate explanation.³ It has also reported a round dozen Regulations apparently in conflict with the purposes of the parent Act, but the lack of assistance from Counsel to the Speaker detracts from the authority of Reports of this type, and the Minister, on advice, has usually been unmoved. The Committee has also promoted a change in a section of the Northern Ireland Rules Publication Act, which tended to limit any effectiveness it might have by providing only five sitting days of Parliament during which Regulations could be annulled under the "negative" procedure. The Committee complained in 1947 that its work was "hampered and very often frustrated" by the statutory period having elapsed by the time a Report was presented, and the minimum "laying" period has since been extended to ten sitting days.⁴

Initially there appeared to be little appreciation by either the Government or M.P.s of the correct division of labour between the Committee and the two Houses, illustrated by a change in its terms of reference, after only one session, which removed S.R. & O.s requiring affirmative resolutions from its scope. The ground for the change, that Parliament would automatically concern itself with these in all their aspects, discounted the whole advantage of developing the Committee's special knowledge over a complete range of delegated legislation, and these S.R. & O.s were only re-included in its terms of reference in 1955 after the Committee had twice drawn attention to the omission in Special Reports. The Committee has also requested an extension to allow it to scrutinize the large class of Regulations laid before Parliament under the "informative" procedure, and although no action has been taken on this it has secured that S.R. & O.s which it examines are distinctively marked for the benefit of M.P.s. ("C"=S.R. & O. considered by the Committee, "NC"=not considered.) But, in the words of a member, "Our main recommendation should be that Parliament pays more attention to its Committee." The possibility of having Reports tabled for debate automatically has been canvassed, so far without result.

The conclusion would appear to be that in relation to its opportunities, action on delegated legislation in the Northern Ireland Parliament is less than could reasonably be expected. With restricted regional functions and a much lower output of instruments the problem of control does not compel attention to the extent that it does at Westminster; and any advantage which derives from the Parliament's intimate knowledge of the local effects

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF DELEGATED LEGISLATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

of administration is offset by a political situation which makes it impossible to reproduce the Westminster Parliamentary process in this sphere. Despite exhortations to Ministers to "rule your Department through this House" the Government and bureaucracy retain a firm initiative. The most that can be said is that Northern Ireland S.R. & O.s receive more Parliamentary attention than Scottish S.I.s at Westminster,* and from this point of view the advantages of devolution, though slight, are nevertheless real.

THE SPECIAL POWERS ACTS

Since defence and transitional powers are reserved to the Imperial Government subordinate legislation raising points of constitutional interest is fairly rare in Northern Ireland. An exceptional category of S.R. & O.s are Regulations made by the Minister of Home Affairs under the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Acts, 1922-43. This contentious legislation originated as a temporary measure to counter the serious nationalist disturbances which accompanied the establishing of a separate Northern Ireland constitution after the Government of Ireland Act in its original conception had broken down. By its terms the civil authority was empowered "to take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving the peace," by Regulations supplementing or modifying a schedule of thirty-five original Regulations appended to the Act, and covering such matters as prohibition and restriction of public assembly, police powers of search and seizure, arrest and detention of suspects, &c., the whole comprising an elaborate code of repressive legislation. The parent Act was renewed annually until 1928, when it was continued for a further five years; and in 1933 fresh legislation converted it into a permanent part of the law of Northern Ireland. The number of Special Powers Regulations in force under the Act has been constantly revised to keep pace with periodic irredentist outbreaks, and with more settled post-war conditions the general drift of modifications until a few years ago was towards reducing the number in operation. A major revocation took place in 1949, and others rescinded in 1951 following the passing of the Public Order Act (Northern Ireland) left only seven Regulations active. During December 1956, however, there was a recurrence of armed raids in Northern Ireland by illegal organizations and it was found necessary to bring a number of Regulations back into force, fifteen of the more drastic being revived by S.R. & O.s introduced in 1956 and 1957.

Regulations when made are laid before both Houses "as soon as maybe" for a period of twenty-eight days, during which they are subject to the familiar "prayer to annul" procedure—the Governor being authorized to revoke Regulations by Order in Council. In this particularly sensitive sphere the combination of the "negative" procedure with a permanent Government

*For evidence on Parliamentary time available at Westminster for S.I.s relating to Scotland see *Royal Commission on Scottish Affairs* (1952-54), Day 3, p. 46, para. 92, and Q. 568, Day 7, p. 5, para. 6. An interesting scheme to relieve the Westminster House of Commons by a form of internal devolution was put to the Select Committee on Delegated Legislation in 1953 by the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons. The main devolution would refer all S.I.s relating solely to Scotland to the Scottish Grand Committee, which would originate debate on prayers and affirmative resolutions, although obviously no division would be possible at this stage. See *Report*, pp. 88-89.

majority means that Parliamentary control is completely ineffective, both in substance and in its secondary form of ensuring through debate that the powers demanded at any time are not excessive. Although the Regulations resurrected in 1956 and 1957 were extraordinarily far-reaching, empowering the civil authority, *inter alia*, to impose a curfew and prohibit the use of vehicles in specified areas,⁵ take possession of land and destroy any building or structure or "do any other act involving interference with private rights of property,"⁶ no prayer was moved in either House against the relevant S.R. & O.s on any ground, and the Regulations passed into law without Parliamentary comment. (A number were promulgated during the 1957 summer recess and presumably could have been lost to view among the fifty or so S.R. & O.s awaiting attention when Parliament reassembled.)

Proceedings on Special Powers Regulations in the Joint Select Committee on Statutory Rules, Orders and Regulations are cursory. The Government has a majority of members and the objectivity proper to such a committee is impossible to attain in this sphere. Thus one Unionist member of the Committee declared himself "absolutely in favour of all these Special Powers Regulations." On no occasion in 1956 or 1957 when Regulations came before the Committee was an attempt made to assess their appropriateness. S.R. & O. No. 199 of 1956, for example, comprising eleven Regulations, was introduced into the Select Committee by an assistant secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, who explained that "it gives powers to impose a curfew, requires persons coming into Northern Ireland to satisfy the police as to why they are here, authorizes the police or H.M. Forces to get information and documents or articles that the civil authority thinks it desirable to obtain and examine, and prohibits persons collecting and distributing information regarding the strength of the police force or its distribution. We have also added to the list of unlawful associations Sinn Féin and Fianna Uladh, and we have made it an offence for people in certain circumstances to send wireless or telegraphic messages or to tap or intercept messages sent by wireless telegraphy."

This compendium produced only two questions by the chairman, both concerning delay in bringing the S.R. & O. before the Select Committee, the chairman then closing the proceedings with the brief comment, "It seems to be very satisfactory."⁷ On another occasion the Committee made no demur to an admission by the Ministry's witness that, regarding a particular Regulation, "I cannot say there is any specific incident, but it seems a desirable power to have"; whilst a member of the Committee welcomed a Regulation extending the powers of the police to detain suspects because of "a general sense of indiscipline in Belfast" unconnected with any specific illegal activity.⁸

A further circumstance surrounding the promulgation of Regulations reveals the extent to which the regional legislature condones standards of performance in this particular sphere of delegated powers which fall far short of acceptable practice at Westminster, and demonstrates the need for an equivalent to section (4) of the Statutory Instruments Act to ensure that unless a case is made, S.R. & O.s are not operative until laid. One set of

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF DELEGATED LEGISLATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND¹

Regulations dated 21st December 1956 were received by the Select Committee in February 1957. In the case of another single Regulation the delay was five months, and the Departmental witness could "only apologize for an unfortunate oversight." Since in each instance the delay was also one of laying before Parliament, the Committee was entitled to refer all Regulations made in 1956 and 1957 under sub-paragraph (5) of its terms of reference, yet on each occasion contented itself with a mild rebuke.

Special Powers attract some debate, and occasional questions are put to the Minister on specific instances of their operation, but on the whole the Government remains complacent, and comment by Nationalist M.P.s tends to be perfunctory and overstated, of the unhelpful "Hitler is dead, but his spirit still lives in Northern Ireland" type. The impression is that a more constructive association of Parliament with the exercise of Special Powers would hasten the day when this underpinning of an otherwise liberal constitution could be entirely removed.

¹N. Mansergh, "The Government of Northern Ireland" (1936), p. 188.

²Statutory Instruments Act, Sect. 13 (2).

³Special Reports: July 1951 and September 1952.

⁴Statutory Rules (Period of Laying) Act (Northern Ireland) (1950).

⁵Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland) (Amending) No.2 Regulations, 1956, Regulation 19, No. 3, Regulations, 1957, Regulation 33.

⁶Ibid, Regulation 34a.

⁷Proceedings of the Joint Select Committee on Statutory Rules, Orders and Regulations, 20th February 1957.

⁸Ibid, 26th September 1957.

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The Effect of Recent Constitutional Changes on the Public Service in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore

By T. E. SMITH, O.B.E.

Mr Smith was a member of the Malayan Civil Service until 1957. He then became a Research Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, and now has a similar appointment with the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London

THE constitutional changes which have taken place in the Federation of Malaya and in Singapore in the last few years have entailed considerable problems in relation to the staffing of the public service. Schemes for the rapid Malayanisation of the public service had to be worked out, terms for premature retirement and compensation for loss of career had to be offered to expatriate officers in the service of the two Governments, whilst steps had to be taken to maintain the efficiency of the public service at the highest possible level in the difficult interim period during which a fairly rapid exodus of senior expatriate officers could be expected.

The policy statement in Colonial No. 306 of 1954 had defined the general nature of the obligation accepted by Her Majesty's Government towards officers serving overseas who had been selected for appointment by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The White Paper defined the conditions which should apply to such officers in the event of the territory in which they were serving attaining self-government as follows :

- “(1) So long as they remain in their existing employment, the Government of the territory concerned shall not alter their terms of service so as to make them less favourable than those on which the officers are already serving.
- (2) The pensions and other benefits for which they or their dependents may be qualified under existing laws and regulations shall be similarly safeguarded.
- (3) They shall continue to be regarded by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as members of Her Majesty's Service and as such to be eligible for consideration for transfer or promotion to any posts which the Secretary of State may be requested to fill in other territories.
- (4) The Government by which they are employed will not unreasonably withhold consent to their accepting any such transfer or promotion and will preserve their existing pension rights on transfer.
- (5) They will be given adequate notice of any intention to terminate their employment in consequence of constitutional changes and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will endeavour to find them alternative employment should they so desire.

- (6) In the event of premature retirement resulting from constitutional changes they will receive compensation from the Government of the territory concerned."

Schemes based on these principles were put into force both in the Federation of Malaya and in Singapore in 1957. Expatriate officers on the pensionable establishment were permitted to retire with earned pension and lump-sum compensation on or after 1st July 1957 in the Federation of Malaya and on or after 1st January 1957 in Singapore.¹ The basis of actuarial computation of compensation was the capital value of the loss incurred in respect of future salary and pension less an allowance for the prospect of future alternative employment; but a number of arbitrary assumptions—particularly in relation to the prospect and value of future alternative employment—had to be made before the actuaries could get down to work. Compensation payable to an individual officer depended on his pensionable emoluments, age and length of service² with a maximum of £11,000 in the Federation of Malaya and nearly £12,000 in Singapore³; the compensation tables⁴ offered the highest rate of compensation to those around the age of 40. If an officer accepted an offer of transfer to another dependent territory and this transfer involved a reduction in pensionable emoluments, he was to be paid a reduced compensation based on the reduction in salary. If an officer elected to remain in the service for the time being, his compensation could be frozen for a limited period at the point most advantageous to him, taking into account his age, length of service and salary during the compensation period. It was hoped that the provisions for freezing compensation at the point most advantageous to the individual officer would provide some encouragement to older officers to remain in the service of the Government for a few years during the transitional period of Malayanisation of the public service; for, without the freezing provision, their compensation would, in the absence of further promotion, grow less with age. The younger officers could increase their compensation, as well as their pension, by staying in the service.

Before the start of the operation of the compensation scheme, both Governments published their plans for the Malayanisation of the Public Service, and the minimum time in which each Department could be Malayanised was worked out. In the Federation of Malaya, the policy was to Malayanise as fast as the availability of suitable and qualified Malaysians permitted. The Federation Malayanisation Report stated that:

"It would be possible to Malayanise more rapidly by replacing qualified expatriate staff by Malaysians lacking the usual qualifications. Such a policy must inevitably result at least in an immediate and substantial lowering of standards of efficiency and might involve a serious risk of a breakdown

¹The Federation of Malaya became an independent country within the Commonwealth in August 1957 and Singapore acquired internal self-government in 1959. Both, however, had a ministerial system of government in operation before 1957.

²In the Sudan compensation was based on age and emoluments, but not on length of service. In Ghana all three factors were taken into consideration.

³In Ghana the maximum compensation was £8,000.

⁴The tables give a series of multiplying factors for applying to last drawn pensionable annual emoluments.

in some Departments. In the long run it would result in underqualified staff in large numbers holding senior appointments (by virtue of seniority) while the more junior posts had later been filled by fully qualified Malayan staff."

Rather more drastic steps were envisaged by the Singapore Malayanisation Commission in their 1956 Report. In that year, 401 of the 1,048 Division I posts⁵ were held by Malayan officers and 387 by expatriate officers, 311 of whom were on the permanent establishment and 76 on short-term contract terms; most of the 260 vacant posts were in the Education and Medical Departments and local officers were being trained for them. The majority of the members of the Malayanisation Commission took the view that the fact that, in 1956, only 15 of the 153 superscale posts were held by local officers indicated that the pace of effective Malayanisation had been unduly slow in the past and they recommended that "whatever resources of local talent are available should be concentrated as far as possible on filling the 153 key posts," upsetting established practice and appointing local men outside Government Service direct to superscale posts if it was not possible to find within the service the necessary number of local officers with the maturity, experience and sense of responsibility necessary to hold down such posts. In line with this policy, all the posts of Permanent Secretary of Ministries were filled by local officers early in 1957.

On the basis of the Malayanisation plans of the two Governments each expatriate officer on the permanent establishment was informed how long it was anticipated that his services could be retained in the event of his wishing to remain in the public service for the time being. For example, Administrative Officers in the Federation of Malaya who opted to stay in the service at the start of the compensation scheme were guaranteed employment up to 1962. Any expatriate officer could, however, give six months' notice of retirement at any time during the currency of the compensation scheme. If the run-down in the number of expatriate officers had gone in accordance with the two Governments' Malayanisation plans, each expatriate would have stayed until his Malayan replacement was available, and there would have been a very gradual diminution in the total number of expatriate officers employed by the two Governments. In practice, a fairly large number of officers will inevitably depart in the first few months of a scheme of this nature and each officer will decide, on the basis of family, financial, moral and political considerations and his estimate of the likelihood of obtaining satisfactory alternative employment, whether to stay in the public service, transfer to another still dependent territory or take his compensation and go. The rate of exodus of expatriate officers is almost bound to be more rapid than the employing Government would desire. Whatever inducements are dangled in front of officers to stay in the public service for a year or two, many will go at the introduction of the compensation scheme. Shortly afterwards others will find that they are losing sight of their old friends who have left the service, or are running into difficulties in their relations with the local politicians or with more junior local officers pressing for

⁵All senior Government posts are in Division I of the public service.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

promotion ; in some Departments, too, they may have to bear an increasingly heavy load of work in an attempt to keep the government machine working smoothly. The following statistics give some indication of the rate of retirement of officers entitled to receive lump sum compensation :

Date of Commencement of Compensation Scheme	Number of Officers Entitled to Compensation	Number Remaining on 31st December 1957	Number Remaining in October 1958	Number Remaining on 30th April 1959
1st July 1957	1,579	<i>Federation of Malaya</i> 1,059		727
1st January 1957	428	<i>Singapore</i> 266		151

The Singapore figures may be compared with the table contained in the Singapore Government Malayisation White Paper (Singapore No. Cmd. 65 of 1956) showing the position if the run-down of expatriate officers went according to plan and all such officers stayed until they were no longer needed (the series starts with a total of 509 officers, both those on the permanent establishment and those on contract—the latter not entitled to receive lump-sum compensation) :

By 1/1/58		By 1/1/59		By 1/1/60		By 1/1/61	
Go	Stay	Go	Stay	Go	Stay	Go	Stay
49	460	73	387	120	267	62	205

When it is remembered that the first group of figures do not include contract officers, many of whom will by now have left Singapore at the expiry of their short-term contracts, it will be clear that the number of expatriate officers remaining in the service of the Singapore Government cannot be much more than half the number needed to meet the Malayisation Commission's plans.

It will be seen that the retirement rate in Singapore has been somewhat higher than in the Federation of Malaya. This can probably be attributed to the tenser political atmosphere in Singapore in the last year or two. In the Federation of Malaya, it had been anticipated (see page 19 of the 1956 Report on Malayisation of the Public Service) that :

" . . . a fair proportion of the older officers (45 and above) would be willing to complete their careers up to a normal age of retirement. It is expected that the younger officers would in any case wish to leave the Federation either on retirement or by transfer to other territories. At most some of the younger group can perhaps be retained for a year or two. . . . The biggest problem of all is the future of the middle group (ages 35 to 45) who make up almost 50 per cent. of the total expatriate strength. These officers have in most cases at least 10 years' experience and they hold the

PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA AND SINGAPORE

senior timescale and junior superscale posts, thus constituting the backbone of the day-to-day departmental work. It is unlikely that many of these officers would wish to stay merely for a period of 5 years. They will have a particular inducement to go in that the compensation scheme is likely to offer the highest rate of compensation at the age of 40."

In fact, a fairly high proportion of the younger officers have stayed in Malaya, whilst most of the older officers and of the more senior officers in the middle group have retired. This has not been entirely disastrous, as, although there is a shortage of experienced senior officers (taking both expatriate and locally domiciled officers into account), the departure of many of the expatriate officers on the higher rungs of the Civil Service ladder has left the way open for promotion of a number of local officers to really responsible posts without any very marked departure from the normal conditions of promotion in the Civil Service. Contrary to expectations, a fairly high proportion of officers with professional qualifications have remained in Malaya for the time being; Malayan salaries are attractively high, but it had been feared that the general demand for professionally qualified men would be so great that few would wish to remain merely for a period of a few years. The proportion of those without professional qualifications—e.g. administrative officers, police officers—who have left the service has in fact been greater than in the case of those working in Departments which normally demand a professional qualification as a condition of appointment. In this respect, experience in Malaya has differed from that of Ghana, where there has been a rapid exodus of technical officers and development schemes have sometimes been delayed because of the shortage of such officers.

The situation in a selection of Departments in the Federation of Malaya is shown in the following table:

Retirements of Expatriate Officers up to 30th April 1959

Department	Number of Expatriate Officers on Permanent Establishment on 1st July 1957	Retired in			Total Retired
		1957	1958	1959	
Administration ..	209	64	34	25	123
Agriculture	46	13	8	2	23
Drainage and Irrigation	31	12	2	3	17
Education	94	26	16	8	50
Forest	31	9	2	1	12
Income Tax	19	4	1	—	5
Medical (Doctors and Dentists)	164	24	6	8	38
Police	338	126	64	29	219
Public Works	170	46	13	10	69

The disparity in the retirement rate of different Departments may give some clues in assessing the motives of individual officers in staying in the public service or leaving. The highest rate of retirement has been in the Police, despite the fact that its officers are not usually qualified for employment in a different sphere. One reason for this is that fairly large numbers of police officers—the proportion is probably higher than in any other Department—have opted to transfer to British colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere, thus safeguarding for themselves a continuing career in similar work outside Malaya. Moreover, Malayanisation of the police force is due to be completed in 1960—earlier than most Departments. The rate of retirement of administrative officers has also been high, and this is in part to be explained by the fact that, as a group, their position and their work are more affected by constitutional changes than any other class of officer. The Departments in the table with the slowest rates of retirement of expatriates have been those which have hardly been affected in their work by political and constitutional changes and which, at the senior level, are staffed by officers who feel reasonably confident of their chances of obtaining satisfactory alternative employment when the time comes. The differences are, however, relative. In all Departments there have been officers anxious to take their compensation and depart, either because they regard their work as completed or for family reasons or because of the attraction of the lump-sum compensation; there have equally been officers who have stayed in the service for the very same last two reasons—some because a continuation of service at a high salary for a year or two is a way of ensuring that the expensive education of their children can be satisfactorily completed, and others because they can add very materially to their lump-sum compensation and pension by staying for a year or two.

During the past few years a very large number of Malaysians have attended universities and other institutions either in Malaya or overseas and there is no real overall shortage of persons potentially qualified to enter or already appointed to most of the senior services. Indeed, in a few years' time, there may well be some difficulty in finding suitable employment inside and outside the public service for all of those with university degrees and similar qualifications. There is, however, at present a real shortage of experienced officers and this shortage will inevitably persist for a few years. This is likely to lead to a lowering of standards of efficiency in some Departments, but there appears to be little risk of a real breakdown in the Government machine. In theory one of the ways of overcoming this problem of lack of experienced officers would be to offer attractive short-term contract terms to those who have retired from the service in Malaya with compensation, but this solution is regarded as politically inexpedient. It may be noted, however, that a number of officers who retired from Malaya with compensation have accepted contract employment in countries such as Ghana and Nigeria and that Ghana has now reversed its former policy in relation to its own expatriate officers and is prepared to offer continued employment on contract terms to officers who retire from the service with compensation.

The Federation of Malaya and Singapore appear to be well on the way towards overcoming the transitional period problems—at least in so far as

the public service is concerned—partly because recruitment of local officers for responsible posts has been going on for some considerable time and partly because a reasonable proportion of the expatriate officers have stayed in the public service for a year or two after the earliest date on which they could have retired with pension and compensation.

It may be of some interest to consider whether the experience of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore has any relevance for countries such as Nigeria (due to become independent in October 1960) and other dependent territories in Africa which are approaching self-government. In the first instance, the training programme for potential locally-domiciled officers in the public services must be intensified several years before independence if the appointment of a large number of inexperienced officers to responsible posts is to be avoided; this may lead to a situation in which, for a few years, the number of permanent officers exceed the approved establishment, but the policy of Malayanisation or Africanisation may in any case involve the upsetting of established procedures in one way or another. Secondly, Malayan experience indicates that the run-down in the number of expatriate officers is likely to proceed more rapidly than the Government would wish and this suggests that, if Malayanisation or Africanisation of a Departmental service is due to be completed in a minimum of x years, it would be wise to offer freezing of compensation and guaranteed employment to the expatriate officers of the Department for a period of $(x+y)$ years, y being 2 or 3 or a little more; such a step might result in the retention of a very few expatriate officers for a year or two longer than they were needed, but, more important, it would be likely to reduce the rate of run-down of the number of expatriates in the middle stages of a compensation scheme. Thirdly, despite the political difficulties involved, there would appear to be arguments in favour of giving officers the alternative of continuing on the permanent establishment and improving their pension and lump-sum compensation or of retiring and obtaining further employment on a contract basis; the second of these alternatives would have some attraction for the older officer with plenty of experience who cannot improve his lump-sum compensation by staying on the permanent establishment. Finally, and as a general statement, the following extract from the 1956 Singapore "Interim Report of the Malayanisation Commission" is worth quoting:

"We agree that, other things being equal, prior consideration should be given to those who have made the Civil Service their life-long career. And, in normal time, that should in fact be the case. However, the period between now and complete Malayanisation cannot be regarded as normal. The policy of Malayanisation means in effect upsetting established practices by procedures which are revolutionary."

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The Future Pattern of Local Government in England and Wales

By DUDLEY LOFTS

Mr Loft, who is Lecturer in the Department of Social Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, explains the arrangements for the review of Local Government areas and reflects on some of the possible changes.

MOST of the public interest aroused by the Local Government Act of 1958 centred on its financial provisions. Few people outside the world of local government saw it also as the second attempt by post-war Governments to deal with the seemingly intractable problem of adjusting the status and areas of Local Authorities to meet changes in population and functions.

This is a task for which no Government can avoid responsibility indefinitely, but the merits of delay are attractive. Any widespread change is bound to offend all or some of the Local Authorities, which are themselves divided over the issues involved. The review process itself must be long and complex, and the final decisions cannot please all concerned.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARY COMMISSION: 1945-49

As a first attempt, the war-time coalition government appointed the Local Government Boundary Commission, gave it considerable powers and undoubtedly hoped that it would be accepted as an impartial instrument, working within a general framework of limited ministerial control. The Local Government Boundary Commission Act, 1945, gave the Commission the duty of reviewing the areas and status of all Local Authorities in England and Wales, except the London County Council. It was empowered to make Orders changing the areas and status of District Councils and, even in the case of the Counties and County Boroughs, submitted its proposals direct to Parliament for approval. Ministerial control was limited to regulations defining procedure and detailing the general factors to be considered by the Commission in reaching its decisions. Naturally, proposals which required Parliamentary sanction could not be carried through in the face of Government opposition, and this left the Government with final responsibility in matters concerning the major Authorities. Even so, the Commission was never in any danger of being regarded merely as Ministerial agents or advisers, and might well have become a permanent feature of the local government system, occupying a semi-judicial position in determining continuing boundary problems.

As is well known, the Commission thought the approach of area by area boundary alterations inadequate to solve the problems with which it was faced. In its report for 1947 it put forward a more comprehensive scheme, involving the creation of a new type of Local Authority and a major redistribution of functions. These proposals found little favour and were not acted upon by the Labour Government, who disbanded the Commission in 1949.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1958

Although the Boundary Commission itself came to an end, its proposals were discussed by the Local Authority Associations, who made counter suggestions.¹ These reflected the usual divergence of views between the County Borough and County Council groups and, in 1954, the Minister of Housing and Local Government made a final attempt to bring the Associations together to "make a fresh attempt to find a basis for agreement within the framework of the existing structure." He published a White Paper (Cmd. 9831), "Areas and Status of Local Authorities in England and Wales" which reviewed the negotiations with the Local Authority Associations. The provisions of the Local Government Act of 1958 are based on these negotiations, and reflect the limited area of agreement which was achieved.

Part II of the Act—dealing with "Reviews of Local Government Areas"—does not apply to the Greater London area, which includes the City of London, the London County Council, the county of Middlesex, the metropolitan parts of Essex, Surrey and Kent, and a small part of Hertfordshire. This area contains almost a fifth of the population and a third of the rateable value of England and Wales, and the local government system at present operating in it is being separately investigated by a Royal Commission, which is already hearing evidence and will submit its proposals to the Government.

The machinery for reviewing the areas and status of Local Authorities outside the Greater London area can best be described by dividing them into three main groups:

- (i) Local Authorities in the five provincial "conurbations"—referred to in the Act as "special review areas."
- (ii) Counties and County Boroughs outside the conurbation areas.
- (iii) District Councils—i.e. Non-County Boroughs, Urban and Rural Districts—outside the conurbation areas.

Although there is to be no body comparable to the previous Boundary Commission, two new Local Government Commissions have been appointed by the Crown, on the advice of the Government—one for England and one for Wales.

(i) *The Provincial Conurbations*

One of the most important tasks of the English Commission is to review, and make proposals for the future of, each County, County Borough and District Council operating in each of the five provincial conurbations. These conurbations centre on Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and are referred to in the Act as "special review areas." They are substantially the same as those defined by the Registrar General in his Report on Greater London and Five Other Conurbations for the Census of 1951, but with slight additions to include recent building developments. Each special review area is therefore limited to the existing urban developments for which the main city is a focal point, and does not include undeveloped "fringe" land.

(ii) *Counties and County Boroughs*

The English Commission is also responsible for reviewing the areas of

THE FUTURE PATTERN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES

County and County Borough Councils outside the conurbations, and for making proposals on applications for the creation of new County Boroughs. A parallel task will be performed by the separate Commission for Wales, where there are no conurbations.

(iii) *District Councils*

Unless the issue of County Borough status is involved, neither Commission will be concerned in the reviews of County Districts outside the conurbations. These are entrusted to the County Councils, each of which will carry out "county reviews" similar to those effected under the Local Government Act of 1929, and submit proposals to the Minister for any changes thought necessary.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS

The Act provides that each Commission shall consist of a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman and not more than five other members. At present the English Commission consists of a part-time Chairman, a full-time Deputy Chairman and four other members—two of whom hold full-time appointments. The Chairman is a retired civil servant, with a distinguished career in Departments not closely associated with the work of Local Authorities. He was formerly Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of National Insurance (1949-51), to the Ministry of Food (1951-55) and was the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue at the time of his retirement. By contrast, the full-time Deputy Chairman is a well-known counsel who has specialized in local government law, and is the present editor of a standard work on the law of rating. The two full-time members have come straight from successful careers as chief officials in the Local Government Service—a town clerk and a county education officer. The present part-time members are a lady Alderman (and one-time Chairman) of the East Sussex County Council and a Professor of Economics (formerly of Manchester and now of London University). Thus the nucleus of the three full-time members contains most of the expert knowledge and experience.

All the five members of the Commission for Wales are part-time. The Chairman is again a former distinguished civil servant, and his Deputy was Principal of the University College of North Wales until his retirement in 1958. Each of the three remaining members has had experience in local government, as an official or an elected member, and one still holds the office of Clerk of the Anglesey County Council.

The English Commission started work in March of this year, and is concurrently reviewing three interrelated areas in the East and West Midlands:

1. The West Midlands Special Review area, centring on Birmingham.
2. The rest of Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire and the counties of Herefordshire and Shropshire.
3. Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Rutland and the Soke of Peterborough.

The Act requires the Commission to give public notice of its intention to review an area and to "consult with all Local Authorities in the area and with all such other public authorities and bodies of persons as appear

to the Commission to be concerned" (Section 21 (3)). The English Commission is proposing to fulfil this obligation in a number of ways—by inviting written statements, by discussions with representatives of Local Authorities and others, and by visits to the area. The Act allows the Commission to delegate this work of preliminary investigation to individual members of the Commission or to other persons appointed by it. But the Commission as a whole must retain responsibility for the "preparation and formulation of proposals and the preparation of a report."

The Commission then publishes draft proposals for any changes it thinks necessary, upon which Local Authorities and others concerned can submit their comments. The final stages are a local conference to consider the proposals and comments made upon them, followed by the submission of a report and recommendations to the Minister.

Any Local or other Public Authority or member of the public may make further representations to the Minister. He then has to decide the final shape of the proposals and submits an Order to Parliament, accompanied by the Commission's report. Thus the Commissions are the Minister's public advisers and do not possess the same semi-independent status as the previous Boundary Commission.

This is a lengthy process, giving maximum opportunities for public discussion and comment before the final decisions are taken. The English Commission hopes to be able to submit its final proposals for the first three review areas within a year and, on this basis, will take some five or six years to complete its task. This means that, while the County Councils in the first areas may be able to begin their District reviews in 1960, others will have to defer action until the Commission and the Minister have dealt with their own future.

WHAT CHANGES ARE LIKELY?

The White Paper which preceded the Act declared that there was "no convincing case for radically reshaping the existing form of local government in England and Wales." Nevertheless, the sections of the Act defining the general scope of the Commissions' proposals and the Minister's powers were clearly drafted to cover any conceivable reorganization, short of creating a new type of Local Authority.* Even the unique position of the Municipal Borough is no longer a barrier to the elimination of some of the smaller ones, as it often was under the county reviews following the 1929 Act. A Non-county Borough cannot be extinguished by the new procedure but it can be included in a Rural District for local government purposes, by being given the special status of a "Rural Borough." It will then have the functions of a Parish Council, with the constitution and symbols of a corporation.

*During the committee stage of the Bill, an amendment was proposed to make it clear that two or more Non-county Boroughs could extend and then combine to form a new County Borough. The Minister said that this was already possible under the Bill, which had been drafted to ensure that "there was no chance of the Commissions' finding that Parliament had failed to provide for one of the conceivable combinations and permutations and rearrangements." (Report of Standing Committee D on the Local Government Bill, col. 749.)

Only in the conurbations does the Act give authority for the establishment of a completely new system of local government, to deal with the number and variety of authorities in these areas.* The White Paper on "Areas and Status of Local Authorities" condemned this confusion as "not conducive to efficiency or economy" and suggested various possible methods of improving the situation. The general powers possessed by the Commissions and the Minister under the Act could be used to reduce the number of authorities by amalgamations and boundary adjustments. They could also be used to replace the different types of authority by a group of County Boroughs, covering the whole area between them. However, neither of these approaches would provide a single authority responsible for all, or some, functions throughout the whole conurbation. Therefore, in any conurbation, the Commission can recommend—and the Minister can create—a "continuous county" with second-tier authorities, although the distribution of functions between the two tiers need not be the same as that in the Counties outside the conurbations.

Finally, Section 34 of the Act provides that, in deciding on new claims for County Borough status, both the Minister and the Commissions shall "presume that a population of 100,000 is sufficient to support the discharge of the functions of a County Borough Council."

Apart from this reference, the Act itself gives no indication of the possible consequences of the reviews. Even Ministerial statements during the debates on the Bill provide less clues than is the case with some legislation. For the Minister will have to make a final judgment on the proposals submitted, and he has naturally tried to avoid prejudging the issues or laying himself open to the charge—apparently almost a criminal one—of showing a County or a County Borough bias. In spite of this the debates on the Bill and the White Paper which preceded it give some evidence of Ministerial and Departmental attitudes to the problems which have to be solved.

The Conurbations

Almost one person in every five lives in one of the provincial conurbations, and the system of local government finally adopted for these areas is therefore of considerable importance. Whilst there are strong arguments for reducing the number of Local Authorities in these areas, such evidence as there is suggests that the Commission will have to present a very convincing case for the "continuous county" solution to be adopted. The Minister is on record as saying: "I do not think that this is a plan which could be carried into effect against the stern opposition of the majority of the Local Authorities in the conurbation area."² The chances of its being willingly accepted are slight, as it is almost certain to be opposed by most of the Counties and County Borough Councils involved. Admittedly a "Manchester County Council" was proposed in 1947 by the Manchester and Salford County Boroughs and some 25 District Councils, but it was not supported by the remaining authorities involved, i.e. five County Boroughs, 40 County Districts

*For example, the West Midlands special review area has at present operating within it no less than 29 local authorities—Birmingham and 5 other County Boroughs, 3 County Councils, 9 Non-county Boroughs, 10 Urban Districts and 1 Rural District.

and four County Councils. At present there are 80 County Boroughs outside the Greater London area, and 27 of these are in the conurbations. A uniform application of the "continuous county" plan would deprive these County Boroughs of their autonomy and offer them in exchange only second-tier status, with possibly a wider range of functions than that possessed by District Councils outside the conurbations.

The impression given by the Minister during the Committee stage was that he envisaged the device as a last hope to be used only when all else had failed. He disowned any official parentage of the idea, and made it clear that it had been inserted in the Act because it had been considerably canvassed in unofficial circles. It had therefore been made available to the Commission—"assuming of course, that the Commission was not able to solve its problems in one of the simpler or more orthodox ways."³

Counties and County Boroughs Outside the Conurbations

The proposals of the Boundary Commission of 1945-49 were largely dominated by their concern at the antagonism between the County and County Borough Councils, and by their anxiety to find a remedy which "removes the causes of the battle rather than one which disables either combatant." They restricted all-purpose government to 17 towns outside Greater London, thus bringing the County Borough system as we know it today nearer to the original conception of the framers of the Local Government Bill of 1888. For the intermediate size town—between 60,000 and 200,000 in population—they offered the compromise of becoming a "most-purpose" authority, to be called a "New County Borough." Such towns would have been autonomous authorities for education, personal health and welfare-services, whereas in other parts of the county these would have been provided by the County Council. But these New County Boroughs would have been within the Administrative County for the purposes of police, fire, planning and main highways. This solution offered an increased range of functions to the larger County Districts without granting them complete autonomy, and it enabled most of the existing County Boroughs of less than 200,000 in population to retain control of their social services, whilst losing control over police, fire, planning and main highways.

No such remedy is available to the Commissions or to the Minister under the new Act, except in the conurbations. Instead, there is a presumption in favour of County Borough status for towns over 100,000 and the right to claim a limited range of delegated functions from the County Council for those towns between 60,000 and 100,000 which remain without that status. This means that towns in this latter group can receive no new functions in their own right, but can compel the County Council to delegate to them the administration of certain services within the policy laid down by the County Council. The Act of 1958 limits this right to education and some aspects of the health and welfare services, although it may be extended to other services in the future.*

It is impossible to forecast the number of new County Boroughs that

*See "Delegation in Local Government—Recent Developments," by P. G. Richards in *Public Administration*, Winter, 1958.

THE FUTURE PATTERN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES

may be created. At present, there are 17 Non-County Boroughs or Urban Districts with a population of over 100,000, but 14 of these are in the Greater London area and their future is to be separately considered. The remaining three entitled to claim promotion are :

Town	1958 Population	County
Borough of Luton ..	.. 118,300	Bedford
Borough of Rhondda ..	.. 106,400	Glamorgan
Thurrock Urban District	.. 105,600	Essex

No one can tell with certainty how many towns at present below the population limit will attempt to reach it by boundary extensions or by combining with neighbours. Cambridge (92,500), Poole (88,390) and Swindon (80,260) are the only three towns outside the conurbations in the marginal group of 80-100,000. The previous Boundary Commission found the device of the "most-purpose" authority a useful compromise in these cases. Cambridge was to become a most-purpose authority within a new county formed by combining four existing Administrative Counties—Cambridge, Ely, Huntingdon and Peterborough. Poole would have received similar status, as would Bournemouth (at present a full County Borough), so that both would have come within the County of Dorset for some purposes, and Swindon would have become a "most-purpose" authority within the County of Wiltshire. The new Commission cannot shelter behind any such compromise, and must recommend either full County Borough status or the continuance of District status, with delegated functions.

There are 14 towns outside the conurbations in the 60-80,000 range, any of whom may desire to seek full autonomy by combining with neighbouring urban areas or by boundary extensions. Six of these towns would have secured "most-purpose" status if the Boundary Commission's proposals had been adopted and may therefore feel particularly discontented with delegated powers only :

	1958 Population	County
Gillingham*	77,870	Kent
Stockton-on-Tees	77,210	Durham
Worthing	74,550	West Sussex
Slough	73,620	Bucks
Cheltenham	68,610	Gloucestershire
Chesterfield	67,460	Derby

*To be united with Chatham and Rochester.

Are new creations likely to be offset by the relegation of existing County

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Boroughs with populations below the 100,000 mark? At present, there are 34 of these, and the following nine have less than 60,000:

	1958 Population	County or Conurbation
Bury	58,090	South-East Lancashire Conurbation
Dewsbury	53,330	West Yorkshire Conurbation
Wakefield	59,740	West Yorkshire Conurbation
Chester	59,300	Cheshire
Canterbury	30,000	Kent
Great Yarmouth	51,400	Norfolk
Burton-upon-Trent	49,230	Stafford
Eastbourne	57,680	Sussex
Merthyr Tydfil	59,300	Glamorgan

The Minister has power under Part III of the Act to enable County Districts of less than 60,000 to claim functions from the County Council under delegation schemes in special circumstances. Relegation to district status might be made more acceptable by the exercise of this power in all the above cases, except possibly Canterbury.*

Existing County Boroughs over 60,000 seem likely to be tenderly treated. The White Paper declared that—"to deprive a County Borough of its independent status would be a most serious step which should be contemplated only where it is plainly necessary for efficient administration" (para. 31) and Section 23 (4) of the Act affords a special protection to a County Borough outside a conurbation by providing that a proposal to withdraw its status must be the subject of an Order confined to that one matter, so that Parliament can consider it separately. Moreover, in the Standing Committee (col. 950) the Minister stressed that the 100,000 population figure applied only to new creations and not to existing County Boroughs and he hoped that his "words would go far abroad and set at rest some doubts."

Finally, many existing County Boroughs will no doubt argue the case for boundary extensions. Here, the White Paper sounded a cautious note—"the onus should be placed on the County Borough to establish that any advantages which extension would confer upon its own inhabitants and those of the additional area claimed, would outweigh any disadvantages which might result for the County or Counties concerned"—and this is reiterated in the regulations issued by the Minister for the guidance of the Commissions, the relevant extracts being given in Appendix A.

*In the cases of Bury, Dewsbury, Wakefield, Chester, Great Yarmouth, Burton and Eastbourne, the Boundary Commission advocated a special investigation to decide whether or not they should be granted "most-purpose" status, although less than 60,000 in size; this status to be accorded to Merthyr Tydfil, then just over 60,000.

THE FUTURE PATTERN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES

It may be argued that a population of 100,000 is as sufficient to support the discharge of the functions of a County Council as the Act presumes it to be in the case of a County Borough. This was not the view taken by the previous Boundary Commission. After reviewing all existing Counties and County Boroughs in England and Wales, they concluded that an authority with a population of less than 200,000 did not possess "sufficient population or resources to secure a reasonable standard for all the major services" and added that they had been greatly impressed with the higher standard they had found amongst authorities above this size.⁴ At present there are 12 English Counties with populations of less than 200,000, six of which are in the group of areas which the Commission is first reviewing :

County	1958 Population	Proposals made by the Boundary Commission in 1947
Cambridgeshire	183,200	Combine to form a single County
Isle of Ely	89,300	
Peterborough	68,500	
Huntingdon	78,800	
Hereford	128,200	Combine with Worcestershire
Lincolnshire (Holland)	102,500	Combine to form a single County
" (Kesteven)	133,500	
Rutland	23,200	Combine with Leicestershire
Suffolk (West)	126,900	Combine with East Suffolk
Westmorland	66,400	Combine with a proposed new County of North Lancashire
Isle of Wight	93,600	To remain a separate County, in spite of its size, because of the difficulty of uniting it administratively with the mainland
Oxfordshire	194,000	No change proposed as then over 200,000

If the same population minimum is applied to the Welsh Counties, only Glamorgan and Monmouthshire exceed it. The Boundary Commission was less specific in its proposals for the Welsh Counties.* They suggested no change in Glamorgan, and outlined four possible courses for reorganising the remaining 11 Counties—reducing them by amalgamation to two, three, four and five Counties respectively.

The Act should help to improve relations between the Counties and County Boroughs, both nationally and locally, for some of the past tension has undoubtedly been due to the sense of insecurity of County Councils in the face of constant pressure from County Boroughs to extend their areas through the promotion of Private Bills. Section 35 of the Act provides, however,

*For the purposes of the Boundary Commission, Monmouthshire was regarded as being in England and they recommended its continued existence as a separate County : for the 1958 Act, it comes within the purview of the Commission for Wales.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

that for a period of 15 years from the date of its commencement no Local Authority may seek to alter its status or boundaries by promoting a Private Bill, and such changes can only be effected by the Government. The Counties should feel more secure during this "standstill" period, but local relations may still be strained if the decisions of the Commissions and the Government are felt to be unjust by all or any of the authorities involved. In particular, many existing County Boroughs hope that their need for land for housing development will be met by boundary extensions, and they may be disappointed. Even when adjoining land is already built up, the Commission must consider "the question whether the area . . . is not only substantially a continuation of the town area of the existing or proposed County Borough, but also has closer and more special links with it than those which necessarily

England (outside Greater London)

Population, 1958	Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts		Rural Districts	
	Number	Per cent. of Total	Number	Per cent. of Total
Under 5,000 ..	131	18	22	5
5,000—	144	20	73	18
10,000—	202	29	162	39
20,000—	156	22	124	30
40,000—	54	8	30	7
60,000—	20	3	3	1
	<u>707</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>414</u>	<u>100</u>

Wales

Population, 1958	Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts		Rural Districts	
	Number	Per cent. of Total	Number	Per cent. of Total
Under 5,000 ..	44	42	12	20
5,000—	23	22	22	37
10,000—	18	17	12	20
20,000—	16	15	10	17
40,000—	3	3	2	4
60,000—	1	1	1	2
	<u>105</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>100</u>

arise from mere proximity.”⁵ This cautious approach to County Borough extensions, combined with the Government’s firm stand on their decision to limit the boundaries of the special review areas to the existing built-up area and exclude the “green belt,” are both in line with their general view that the “overspill” problems should be solved by co-operation between authorities rather than by boundary changes.

County Districts Outside the Conurbations

The size range of the present County District Councils can be gauged from their populations, set out in the tables opposite.

Although the Minister met the wishes of the District Councils by leaving out of the Act all references to population, he stressed in the Standing Committee (col. 766) that there are too many small authorities and that all should have adequate resources—especially to enable them to recruit properly qualified officials. Will these weaker units be eliminated by amalgamation? Equally important, will there be a closer integration between town and country at District level, as the Boundary Commission had envisaged and as is clearly desirable?

In England, practically 40 per cent. of the existing Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts have a population of less than 10,000 and a penny rate product of less than £500. In Wales, the comparable figure is over 60 per cent. A more detailed analysis of this group gives the results shown on pages 286 and 287.

The Act provides the special status of “rural borough” to meet the case of the small Borough which can conveniently be merged into a neighbouring Rural District. How far will this device be used? A study of existing administrative areas suggests that it is likely to be considered for the Non-County Boroughs listed on pages 287 and 288, in each of which the population is less than 5,000 and a penny rate produces less than £300.

There are other Non-County Boroughs which fall within these limits, but their geographical situation makes the “rural borough” solution less obvious. In some cases it might be more convenient to combine the small Borough with an adjoining urban authority—Borough or Urban District—to form a single unit. The Act attempts to make such a step acceptable to the Boroughs by providing that where the amalgamation is with an Urban District Council, the eventual unit shall be a Borough.*

In addition to these small Boroughs, there are also some 120 Urban District Councils of a similar small size, and the County Councils will need to consider the case for merging these into adjoining Rural Districts as Parishes, or for uniting them with other adjoining urban authorities to create larger units.

Finally, the Act itself may provide some Non-County Borough and Urban District Councils with an incentive to amalgamate and so secure the right, as a new and enlarged authority, to claim delegated functions from the county under Part III of Act. For example, outside Greater London and the

*In Committee, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government said that it had been agreed with the Local Authority Associations that “where there is an amalgamation for a change of boundary which affects a non-county borough, then a borough must remain at the end of the day” (Standing Committee D, col. 770) and the Act provides accordingly.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

England (outside Greater London)

					Population (1958)			
					Boroughs	Urban Districts	Total	Per cent. of Total
Under 2,000 ..	..	..	..	..	5	6	11	4
2,000—	..	..	..	..	22	49	71	26
4,000—	..	..	..	..	18	70	88	32
6,000—	..	..	..	..	16	47	63	23
8,000—	..	..	..	..	4	38	42	15
					65	210	275	100

					Product of 1d. rate (1957-58)			
					Boroughs	Urban Districts	Total	Per cent. of Total
Under £100 ..	..	..	..	..	7	19	26	9
£100—	..	..	..	..	23	80	103	37
£200—	..	..	..	..	20	53	73	26
£300—	..	..	..	..	11	40	51	18
£400—	..	..	..	..	4	12	16	6
£500—	..	..	..	..	2	10	12	4
					67	214	281	100

Wales

					Population (1958)			
					Boroughs	Urban Districts	Total	Per cent. of Total
Under 2,000 ..	..	..	..	..	5	15	20	30
2,000—	..	..	..	..	6	13	19	29
4,000—	..	..	..	..	2	7	9	13
6,000—	..	..	..	..	3	7	10	15
8,000—	..	..	..	..	3	6	9	13
					19	48	67	100

THE FUTURE PATTERN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES

	Product of 1d. rate (1957-58)			
	Boroughs	Urban Districts	Total	Per cent. of Total
Under £100	7	19	26	39
£100—	4	19	23	34
£200—	5	5	10	15
£300—	2	3	5	8
£400—	1	—	1	1
£500—	—	2	2	3
	19	48	67	100

NON-COUNTY BOROUGHES WITH POPULATION LESS THAN 5,000

England
(25)

	Population 1958	1d. Rate product 1957-58
Berkshire :		£
Wallingford	4,210	196
Buckinghamshire :		
Buckingham	4,130	200
Cornwall :		
Launceston	4,670	257
Liskeard	4,320	224
Devon :		
Great Torrington	2,820	125
Okehampton	3,890	189
South Molton	3,100	148
Dorset :		
Blandford Forum	3,250	187
Lyme Regis	3,130	200
Shaftesbury	3,420	156
Wareham	2,790	120
Kent :		
Lydia	3,140	165
New Romney	2,400	141
Tenterden	4,800	226
Norfolk :		
Thetford	4,790	163
Northants :		
Brackley	3,110	112

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Oxfordshire :							
Chipping Norton						3,920	175
Woodstock						1,830	70
Shropshire :							
Bishop's Castle						1,240	43
Suffolk (East) :							
Aldeburgh						2,820	180
Eye						1,590	66
Southwold						2,380	145
Sussex (East) :							
Rye						4,470	252
Westmorland :							
Appleby						1,660	64
Wiltshire :							
Malmesbury						2,690	125

Wales
(12)

	Population 1958	1d. Rate product 1957-58
Anglesey :		
Beaumaris	2,220	87
Caernarvon :		
Pwllheli	3,710	161
Cardigan :		
Cardigan	3,580	163
Lampeter	1,950	112
Cardmarthen :		
Kidwelly	2,980	62
Llandovery	1,960	63
Denbigh :		
Ruthin	3,670	175
Glamorgan :		
Cowbridge	1,000	47
Montgomery :		
Llanfyllin	1,300	42
Llanidloes	2,340	63
Montgomery	870	20
Pembroke :		
Tenby	4,440	245

Conurbations, there are four towns very near to the population limit required to demand delegated functions—Maidstone (56,500), Crosby (58,520), Peterborough (55,750), and Nuneaton (56,440). In these cases, the County Council will be called upon to recommend a solution to any area problems, knowing that the future administration of some of its own services may

well be affected by the outcome.

Prospects Under a Labour Government

It will be obvious by now that the future pattern of local government has still largely to be determined, and that though the Commission's Reports and proposals are likely to carry great weight all eventual decisions are the responsibility of the Government of the day. The speculative part of this article has assumed that the present Government continue in office and take the necessary decisions as the occasions arise. Supposing, however, a Labour Government were returned at the next election, have we any evidence of their intentions?

If prediction under the present Government is difficult, it becomes almost impossible if we assume a Labour Government. The Act might be repealed, amended or just applied. Some members of the Labour Party must have been secretly grateful for the financial provisions of the Act, as these provided them with good debating material to mask the Party's complete failure to produce an alternative policy for structure and functions.

The Opposition admittedly put down amendments on points of detail; for example, to compel the Minister to define "principles" for the Commissions by regulation rather than by informal memoranda, as he at first intended to do,⁶ and to transfer the district reviews from the County Councils to the Commissions.⁷ Only once did they seem to be following an agreed line of principle, over the range of functions given to the medium-sized towns. In the debate on the White Paper, Mr G. R. Mitchison—the main speaker for the Opposition—was critical of the use of compulsory delegation rather than direct conferment, as had been proposed by the Boundary Commission and its "most-purpose" authorities, and this was followed by Mr MacColl and other Opposition speakers in the Committee stage debates of the Bill.⁸ But even on this issue, the Party was still divided between "County" members and "the rest," and Mr Chuter Ede deplored the "fragmented financial arrangements" which conferment would mean, and supported delegation, provided the Counties made it a reality.⁹

In fact, the recent debates provided an interesting sidelight on the internal divisions of opinion within the Labour Government of 1945-50 over the problem of local government reorganization. In the White Paper debate, Mr Morrison praised the work of the Boundary Commission and added a somewhat teasing comment—"Looking back on it I feel sorry that the Boundary Commission under Sir Trustram Eve was abolished. I do not understand why the Commission was abolished, but I will find out."¹⁰ Compare this with Mr Chuter Ede's comment in the Committee stage of the Bill, when in debating the idea of continuous counties for the conurbations, he referred to the "second grade county borough" of the Boundary Commission's report and feared that in these areas things might happen which "might be even more terrible than the worst that Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve had proposed."¹¹ Both Mr Morrison and Mr Chuter Ede were senior members of the Government at the time the Boundary Commission's plan was rejected and the Commission dissolved. It rather looks as though a future Labour Government would have to work out a policy after coming

into power—they have not one ready made.

¹Reported in *Public Administration*—Summer 1953 and Autumn 1954.

²Report of Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 783.

³Report of Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 782.

⁴Report of Local Government Boundary Commission, 1947, p. 26.

⁵Local Government Commission Regulations, 1958, paragraph 11 (a).

⁶Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 677.

⁷Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 753.

⁸574 H.C. Deb., col. 942, *et seq.*, and Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 1014.

⁹Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 1022.

¹⁰574 H.C. Deb., 1958, col. 1141.

¹¹Standing Committee D, 1958, col. 964.

APPENDIX

Extracts from "The Local Government Commission Regulations, 1958"
(Statutory Instrument 1958 No. 2115)

Matters to which the Commission are to have regard in all areas

General

3. The Commission's examination of a review area shall be directed (regard being had also to the circumstances and needs of related review areas) to effective and convenient local government throughout the whole of the review area and not merely in individual areas of local government.
4. The circumstances taken into account shall include not only those existing at the time of examination but also those which in the Commission's opinion are likely to come into existence within such period as they think it right to consider in the circumstances of the particular area.
5. In assessing the effectiveness of any local government organization of a review area the Commission shall have regard to, *inter alia*, the extent to which the size and distribution of population and rateable value and the boundaries of administration of the various local services provide adequate resources and allow adequate scope for the efficient and economical discharge, over suitable areas, of all the functions exercisable by the Local Authorities concerned.
6. In assessing the convenience of any local government organization of a review area the Commission shall have regard to, *inter alia*, the number, size, shape and boundaries of the areas of local government, the travelling facilities within and between them, and the way in which these may affect the administration of local services and the access of council members and the general public to their local administrative centres.
7. The following (placed in alphabetical order) are to be included among the factors to be taken into account by the Commission on the holding of a review :
 - (a) Community of interest ;
 - (b) Development and expected development ;
 - (c) Economic and industrial characteristics ;
 - (d) Financial resources measured in relation to financial need ;
 - (e) Physical features, including suitable boundaries, means of communication and accessibility to administrative centres and centres of business and social life ;

- (f) Population—size, distribution and characteristics ;
- (g) Record of administration of the Local Authorities concerned ;
- (h) Size and shape of the areas of local government ;
- (i) Wishes of the inhabitants.

Creation of County Boroughs

8. When considering whether to propose the constitution of a new County Borough the Commission shall take into account any increase or decrease of population which is in their opinion probable within such period as they think it right to consider in the circumstances of the particular case.
9. The existence or early prospect of a population of 100,000 shall not be regarded as an indispensable requirement for the constitution of a new County Borough, but the Commission shall not propose such a change for an area having, or expected to have, a smaller population unless they are satisfied that there are special circumstances which make it desirable to consider such a change in that case.
10. The Commission shall not in any case propose the constitution of a new County Borough in an area forming part of one or more administrative counties unless they are satisfied, taking into account any related proposals that they may intend to make, that the change is on balance desirable, regard being had not only to the circumstances of the area of the proposed County Borough but also to those of the remaining parts of the administrative county or counties.

Areas of County Boroughs

11. Before proposing the inclusion in a County Borough of an area comprising or forming part of a County District (whether as an extension of an existing County Borough or in connection with the constitution of a new one) the Commission shall consider, *inter alia*, the following matters :
 - (a) The question whether the area, if already built up, is not only substantially a continuation of the town area of the existing or proposed County Borough but also has closer and more special links with it than those which necessarily arise from mere proximity ;
 - (b) The question whether, if the area is not already built up, the use of the land in accordance with the development plan or in the manner authorized by permission to develop land granted on application in that behalf is likely to lead to its development into such a continuation of a town area as is indicated in paragraph (a) within such period as the Commission think it right to consider in the circumstances of the particular case ;
 - (c) The question whether (after taking into account any related proposals which may be in contemplation) there would be a balance of advantage in the change, having regard to the interests of the inhabitants of the County Borough and the County District, and to the effect on the local government organization of the county in which the County District is comprised and of the County Districts remaining within it.

*Further matters to which the Commission are to have regard in
Special Review Areas*

12. As soon as practicable after entering on the review of a special review area the Commission shall consider whether there is need for any variation of the special review area under subsection (1) of section 25 of the Act or for the taking of action under subsection (2) of the said section.
13. In the course of their review of a special review area the Commission shall include the following among the matters they examine :
 - (a) The suitability of the number, variety, distribution and boundaries of the existing Local Authorities in relation to the nature and local government needs of the review area as a whole ;
 - (b) Where the review area includes County Boroughs, the effect of the division of the area, on the one hand into County Boroughs wholly situate within the area, and on the other into parts of one or more administrative counties whose Councils have responsibilities for other areas as well ;
 - (c) The question whether local government functions in general would be likely to be discharged better by a smaller number of Authorities ;
 - (d) The extent to which the fully effective discharge of any particular function appears to be hampered by lack of unified or co-ordinated exercise of that function over the whole or a substantial part of the review area.
14. Before finally formulating any proposals for a special review area which includes only part of an administrative county the Commission shall complete at least the initial stages of their review of any review area which includes another part of that county.
15. If the Commission are considering the making of proposals involving the continuance or creation, in any part of a special review area, of County Districts, they shall have regard to the nature of the opportunities (including those provided by the provisions of Part III of the Act) for the delegation of county functions.
16. If the Commission are considering the making of proposals for the constitution or extension of County Boroughs over the whole or part of a special review area, they shall as regards the size of such Boroughs take into account the extent of the need for avoiding a multiplicity of autonomous Local Authorities.
17. If the Commission are considering the making of proposals under section 20 of the Act for the constitution of a continuous county and the redistribution of county and district functions, they shall have regard to the desirability of securing an adequate range of responsibilities both to the County Council and to the County District Councils concerned.
18. If the Commission on their review of a special review area are satisfied that there is need for unification or co-ordination of the exercise of any local government function, and that it cannot suitably be secured fully by any other changes within their power to propose, they shall, when considering such changes, have regard also to the provisions of section 26 of the Act which relate to the establishment of joint boards.

The Profession of Government

By NEVIL JOHNSON

The important new book by Dr Brian Chapman, Senior Lecturer in Government in the University of Manchester, is reviewed by a Principal in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

A STUDY in comparative government extending to European countries other than France is something of a rarity, and this in itself heightens the interest of Dr Chapman's book.* He has mastered an immense amount of complicated and often unfamiliar material, his style is lucid and forthright, and his judgments pungent and sometimes provocative. This is not, however, a guide book to the administrative systems of Europe. His aim is to analyse in Western Europe "the profession of government." It is his thesis that administration has become a profession and those who practise it have attained a key position in contemporary societies. Moreover the profession shares common characteristics in different countries and everywhere there are similar problems thrown up by the existence of a powerful state service. It therefore behoves us to find out what we can about these people and their doings.

Unfortunately there is a difference between the profession of government and the public service, and although both terms appear on the title page of this book the difference is often blurred in the course of the analysis. The "public service" is a broad term, difficult to define precisely, but covering a large and varied body of people employed by the central government or in state-controlled agencies. It is not coterminous with what Dr Chapman studies as the "profession of government." He is primarily concerned with those who are in positions of influence and authority, the administrators, who probably comprise less than 5 per cent. of the public service in any one of the countries studied. There is a risk that the term "profession of government" easily becomes charged with certain overtones, simply because it is used to define the profession of those who make or influence government policy. A comparative study of the public service in Europe would have had to be far more extensive than this present work, and it might have been better had Dr Chapman given more emphasis to the fact that much of what he writes can only be taken as relevant to a small but influential group, no doubt those of greatest significance for the student of politics, but nevertheless only a fraction of the whole public service. In short, the "profession of government" cannot really be equated with the "public service."

The study falls into four parts. After a brief historical survey of the rise of administration and the public services in Europe there is an examination of the extent of these services, followed by a discussion of recruitment and training, chiefly in France and Germany. The second part of the book discusses conditions of service, the third part considers the control of administration, and the concluding section is concerned broadly with the

**The Profession of Government*, by Dr Brian Chapman. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 352. 28s.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

relations between administration and politics. Here it is possible to mention only a few of the interesting and important matters with which Dr Chapman deals.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

For the British student of public administration the chapters on recruitment and training are of special interest because they underline the differences of approach between this country and most of our European neighbours, at least as far as the recruitment and training of higher civil servants goes. The British approach to the training and qualifications of an administrator has been governed by the tradition of selecting able people, with little or no reference to the discipline in which they have been educated and of relying on experience of the job to teach them their profession. This has been the outlook inherited from Macaulay and the Northcote-Trevelyan report, and, as Dr Chapman points out, the late nineteenth century urge to produce proconsuls has had a persistent influence too. Our conception of training is pragmatic and sceptical, doubtful of the profit to be derived from formal instruction in the elements of a "profession of government," questioning whether there is any specialized knowledge which the higher civil servant ought to have, and extolling the virtues of a practical apprenticeship.

French and German views are quite different. Although the methods of training differ greatly, both countries have long accepted a "specialist" approach, and in France this was given a powerful impetus by the founding of the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* straight after the war. The specialist approach treats government as a profession, and takes it to be self-evident that those in this profession should start off with both a theoretical and a practical grounding in subjects relevant to its practice. This may be secured in different ways. In France all candidates for the higher civil service must gain entry to the E.N.A., after which follows a three-year course devoted partly to academic study, mainly in economics and politics, but with ample opportunity for practical work and the widening of a young man's experience. In Germany there is no centralized recruitment followed by training like that offered by the E.N.A., except for the Foreign Service, which Dr Chapman does not discuss, but instead all candidates for the higher service (*Höherer Dienst*) must possess certain recognized qualifications. Most candidates will have passed the first and second state examinations in law, which means that they will have studied for seven years, during the latter part of which they will have had practical experience of the judiciary, police administration, local government, and possibly have been to the School of Administration in Speyer. A law course in Germany covers far more ground than its counterpart in Britain, and at its conclusion a man is qualified for a wide range of professions other than the civil service. It can be regarded as a suitable basis for an administrative career, not only because of the importance Germans attach to the idea of the *Rechtsstaat* and to the theory that the roles of judge and administrator are similar, but also because of the solid grounding in public law and administrative practice which it affords. If there is a fault in Dr Chapman's description of training in Germany it is that he overemphasizes the *Juristenmonopol*. The law of 1957 on the Federal

Civil Service expressly states that economics (*Wirtschafts, Finanz, und Sozialwissenschaften*) is recognized as of equal status with law as a qualifying subject, and there are other exceptions too. It is true that as yet no equivalent in economics to the second state examination in law has been introduced, so that in practice the latter will continue to be the principal qualification. Nevertheless people do enter the higher service, especially in the economic Departments and the Foreign Office who have not studied law, but have a university degree in some other subject. A training period of three years is laid down for such people and the Foreign Office runs a special course of this length.

It is impossible to be dogmatic about the merits of these different approaches to the training of higher civil servants. But Dr Chapman's study of what happens elsewhere will have served a very useful purpose if it stimulates further thought on the adequacy of British methods. He is not concerned with comparing British practice at every point with continental habits, and on training he leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. He mentions briefly the British preference for "on the job" training and leaves it at that. But it can be argued that this is not merely a question of tradition and national custom, and that there are serious practical grounds for a reappraisal of the Macaulay approach. The expansion of government activity in the past forty or fifty years has transformed the civil servant's functions. His work covers a much wider field and the study of economics, law, modern history, political institutions, social administration, and many other related subjects has a bearing on it. These subjects not only have some practical value, but they also offer means of providing a theoretical foundation for the civil servant's work, thus enabling him to fit his particular field of activity into the general framework of government. This tends to be ignored in Britain, where dislike of theorizing has become a fetish, thus weakening the very empiricism it originally fostered. Moreover the Civil Service today faces far more competition from other careers, and a more determined effort to offer a proper training might well be a means of preserving a keen interest in the profession, of attracting into the higher Civil Service a generous share of the first-class people, and of giving them a better preparation for their future work.

Several of the continental countries, notably France and Germany, fully recognize in the training of higher civil servants that today, when administration has expanded far beyond the classical functions of government in the nineteenth century, a foundation in social, economic or technical matters is an advantage, whereas in Britain we have been reluctant to contemplate change. There have been some innovations since the Assheton Report in 1944, but these have not tackled the problem at its source. Instead we have sought to supplement practical experience by offering opportunities for reflection and study to a limited number of civil servants, usually some time towards the middle of their careers. Whilst this is most valuable it is hardly a substitute for a comprehensive system of training. To urge the need for this does not mean that one underestimates the expert knowledge of specialized subjects and the wide grasp of public affairs acquired by many

higher civil servants. But these tend to be the exceptional people whilst the problem of training arises from a care for the general standard of the administrators of the future. The solution might be found in a modified E.N.A., preserving the present methods of entry to the administrative class, and providing, perhaps in two or three stages spread at intervals over a period of four or five years, formal instruction in some of the subjects mentioned as having a bearing on administration, as well as practical experience, preferably outside Whitehall. It is also possible that the abolition of military service resulting in a lower age of entry may make it even more desirable to evolve something on these lines. Doubtless the Macaulay tradition will die hard, and it must be remembered that it has had the advantage of being rooted in a shrewd insight into the way in which the permanent administration fits into the British political framework. Although it is not often admitted that administration at the higher levels is a form of political activity (as Dr Chapman clearly brings out) it is a fact that the Macaulay tradition has bred people who have discreetly but shrewdly understood the political aspects of administration. But in spite of this it is not unreasonable to suppose that as nearly a century has passed since the Gladstonian reforms, the time has now come for a careful reassessment of the position which might lead to recognizing that, even if the humanities are still a good background for the practice of the profession of government, they stand in need of supplementation if the administrator is to be able to make sense of the highly complex field in which he works.

AN INSULATED GROUP

The second part of Dr Chapman's study begins with an assertion which influences throughout his analysis of the conditions of the public service and its status. His view is that Civil Services have today become "self-governing, self-administering groups, insulated from outside interference," and that this is the most significant event in this field during the past fifty years. This rather suggests that such developments are peculiar to the public services, or at any rate are more marked there. Surely this is an exaggeration. Much of what Dr Chapman says about the ways in which civil servants have obtained security of tenure, vindicated their claim to a particular rank with no fear of demotion, pressed for better salaries, more favourable pensions, protection of their rights in disciplinary matters and so on is a fair description of what has happened. But this is not peculiar to the public service; similar developments have taken place in numerous groups in society, including private business. Security of tenure is found even where the cold blasts of private enterprise blow, and many of the financial benefits secured by civil servants have been gained or bettered elsewhere. To suggest, even by implication, that the trend towards self-sufficiency and self-government is a special mark of the public service is to overlook a lot of valuable sociological studies which have shown to what an extent society is composed of well insulated groups, each primarily concerned with protecting or improving its own position.

INSTITUTIONS FOR CONTROL

For many readers the most interesting part of this book will be the third

section on "Control." Dr Chapman's description of the work of the *Conseil d'Etat* in France, of the *Consiglio di Stato* and *Corte dei Conti* in Italy, and of the Swedish and Danish *Ombudsman* is excellent. He shows how powerful an instrument for controlling the legality of administrative actions and their reasonableness or conformity with the intentions of the law the *Conseil d'Etat* has become, although it may be that his enthusiasm tempts him to overlook the elements of arbitrariness to be found in French government and the probable absence now of any political, as opposed to administrative, control. The *Ombudsman* is a fascinating institution, appropriate to highly educated and rational societies. One of the points which emerges most clearly from Dr Chapman's study, not only of control, but throughout his book, is that the smaller countries, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Holland, are very mature in the conduct of public affairs; they seem to treat people far more as fully rational creatures with a direct interest in the functioning of the *polis*, and not as a crowd to be cajoled or told just enough to keep them satisfied.

The problem of control is a very difficult one, and most of Dr Chapman's examination refers to the control of administrative action in order to protect the individual in the enjoyment of his rights. He is quite justified in stressing that the tradition of the British legal profession has always been against the creation of separate Courts to handle cases arising out of the exercise of administrative authority, and that one consequence of this has been to concentrate attention on the working of administrative tribunals, themselves quasi-judicial bodies acting within the administrative framework. At the same time a very wide field of discretion has been left open to the executive. But control in this sphere must mean the control—or at least the scrutiny—of major policy decisions, and this brings us back to the position of the legislature which alone can hope to exercise this function. On this point Dr Chapman suggests ironically—and he may well be right—that the British legislature is seriously handicapped in tackling this problem because of its lack of much important information. The blame for this cannot be put on the profession of government alone, but is one of the consequences of a faith in the virtues of strong government.

RELATION WITH POLITICS

Finally a few words on the public service and politics, with which Dr Chapman concludes his book. Here he is at his most provocative and most stimulating, but his arguments often lose touch with reality. He does not appear to be familiar with what goes on within the administration. He overdramatizes the influence, ambition and power of senior officials, and he underestimates their genuine care for the public good and for the observance of the law. The official concept of "public good" is not always *du haut en bas*; it is frequently cautious and conservative because of a wish not to get ahead of public opinion. When Dr Chapman ends his chapter on public service unions with the assertion that professionalism has grown everywhere and that the higher Civil Service now "represents the state, round which legislatures, ministers, the public and the judiciary revolve" he is really

indulging in hyperbole. Indeed this could hardly be squared with much that he writes elsewhere in his book, showing that in several countries there are very substantial checks on the actions of the administration. If true of Great Britain it would mean that our system of government, at least as presented by most students of it, is not merely a mild fraud as Dr Chapman suggests in one place, but a monstrous and complete fraud.

Another point in which Dr Chapman is hardly fair is his discussion in the final chapter of the German attitude to the public official. This is no place to go into details on this complex and controversial subject, but he seems to overlook (except in one footnote) the extent to which since 1945 many Germans have systematically rethought many of the basic problems affecting the state and the rights of the citizen, and in so doing have thrown overboard much of the intellectual junk flowing from Hegelian metaphysics. This is no mean achievement, and we can be thankful that we have not had to make a similar agonizing reappraisal. In this context I noticed that Dr Chapman attributes to Gerhard Ritter, the distinguished German historian, views on democracy which, as far as I know, are not to be found in the book of his which is quoted. It is unfortunate that this and several other passages present a rather stereotyped view of the German attitude to bureaucracy.

The Profession of Government may well arouse some controversy, which is all to the good. In spite of some of the criticisms expressed here I should like to emphasize again how valuable and stimulating a comparative study of this kind is. In some ways it is a pity that Britain, which is also part of Europe, is not brought into the picture more often and in greater detail. However, the author judged that this would have overburdened his work. As it is he has provided a basis for many useful comparisons and for renewed reflection on many aspects of public administration in this country. This is to be greatly preferred to the urbane worldly wisdom of some writers who, when considering the profession of government in Britain, treat it with an almost metaphysical reverence which detracts from its great merits and blurs its faults.

The Younghusband Report on Social Workers

By UNA CORMACK

*This important Report is explained and commented upon by the Tutor in
Social Science in the University of Exeter.*

THE Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services (H.M.S.O., pp. 375, 10s.) may prove to be the Northcote-Trevelyan turning point for social work, and, as that report inaugurated a staffing system on the whole second to none for the Civil Service, so may this for the whole of that area of the social services that should properly be classed as social work.

The context of the discussion is the problem of the staffing of the social services in general. In the case of old-age pensions, however, and family allowances, it is the rates of benefit and the promptness of payment and in the case of housing it is the accommodation provided and the size of the subsidies that matter, rather than the officer, the person behind the counter. But with the social work part of the social services, staffing, although it has taken us over 50 years to see this, is crucial. With probation, child care, almoning, mental after-care, old people's welfare and so on, to a great extent the service is the official; what is being offered is a helping person, the help that he finds to give resulting from his knowledge, skill and understanding of the individual situation presented, and not from the statute book or code of instructions, or specifications laid down in advance.

Fifty years ago it was decided that the new industrial democracy being created throughout the nineteenth century was to be a social service or welfare state; and what mainly held up achievement at the time was the lack of machinery, in particular, finance and staff—as can be seen from the rate at which both had to expand. In 1891, for example, Mackenzie and Grove gave a figure of 79,241 for the Civil Service; in 1911 it was 172,352; in 1914, 280,900, in 1950, 684,800; and this was matched in the local government service. At the time the only substantial bodies of suitable personnel in evidence were the social workers, mostly unpaid, and the Poor Law staff, not then as well trained as they were to become in the 'twenties and 'thirties. On both of these the new statutory social services turned a cold shoulder, partly because, for different reasons, the Poor Law and social work were alike discredited, partly because both were unspecialized, and specialization and specialized techniques were then the key to progress.

"The combination in a single Destitution Officer of such heterogeneous functions, is, in our judgement," says the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission in 1909, "fatal to the establishment of an efficient service. . . . To fit a man to carry out adequately even the subordinate duties of a Relieving Officer in all their different aspects would require an impossible combination of the training and attitude of an accountant and an inquiry agent, a debt collector and an assessor of Income Tax, a Sanitary Inspector, and a Health

Visitor, a School Manager and a School Attendance Officer. To fulfil completely the higher moral and legal responsibilities of the office in all its ramifications . . . would demand the training and intellectual habits of a Medical Officer of Health, a Director of Education and a County Court Judge."

This school of thought actually preferred that a family consisting, say, in a widow, her children of school age, her phthisical girl and an invalid grandfather, should be severally visited by a medical officer of health, a sanitary inspector, a school attendance officer, a health visitor, an inquiry agent and a debt collector, all expert and specialist, and was confident that a superior service for each member of the family would be so secured. A service should, we were told, concentrate "on the provision of one particular service only by whomsoever required." And even in the 'thirties, when confronted anew by unemployment, Mrs Webb was still demanding a special service (apart from Labour Exchanges) and a special technique. "There is at present no technique either in treatment or prevention—this has to be invented. . . . But it will not be invented until there is a specialized authority, with salaried officials and a concentrated function. A new class of technicians specially trained to deal with the question of unemployment has to arise."

It was in this way that we tended to deal with each new social problem and the staffing of each new social service, recruiting either "salaried officials," i.e. the civil or local government services, or a new class of technicians, health visitors, tuberculosis visitors, home teachers of the blind, mental welfare workers, occupational therapists, child care workers. "In the event," as Professor Titmuss commented, "the pattern of social work development continued to be moulded by the pattern of administrative structure. As a result, we now have specialization by skill, by function, by setting, by Whitley and by chance."

Social workers, in particular Miss Younghusband herself, had seen the dangers and drawbacks of this situation even before they were aggravated by the passage of the post-war social legislation, and they had reacted chiefly by trying to get back, behind the various specializations, to a common basic training for common basic competence in what was basically the same activity, though carried out in different settings, be it law court, hospital or town hall. They were in many ways in a stronger position than they had been since the "Break Up" of the Poor Law. For one thing, social work was once more in favour; it had been realized afresh that in spite of hospitals, houses and other benefits, some people still, *pace* Baroness Wootton, needed help if they were not to be a source of trouble to themselves and the community, and the kind of help they needed was social work help. It had also been accepted that to give this help social workers had to be trained. Further, the main outlines of the training were generally agreed upon, viz. 2-3 years of social study with 3-4 months supervised practical work, followed by a year of professional applied training.

Finally, not only were they needed but they were in short supply.

With some public recognition of the usefulness of social work and some responsibility for providing it embedded in half a dozen recent Acts of

Parliament the authorities have to manipulate a social service structure where social work is impeded by the difficulty of co-ordinating the separate specialized services and by the lack of trained social workers. It seemed essential to have a policy for utilizing scarce manpower most effectively and to give social work training a priority similar to that of teachers' training. But the Government postponed decision by trying to take each service piecemeal preferring, in the words of the Joint University Council for Social and Public Administration, "the review of large blocks of social work on the initiative of the department mainly concerned" to any general survey of "the nature of the problems connected with the recruitment, training and employment of social workers in the public services" which would have been, for the purposes of each department, "unnecessarily wide," according to the Cope Committee. And so we have been waiting almost ten years while one working party or committee after another slowly ploughs its own furrow, almoning, psychiatric social work, health visiting, and no one looks at the whole field.

Miss Younghusband's working party, too, were given a limited mandate when they were appointed in June 1955, to inquire into

"the proper field of work and the recruitment and training of social workers at all levels in the local authorities' health and welfare services under the National Health Service and National Assistance Acts, and in particular whether there is a place for a general purpose social worker with an in-service training as a basic grade."

One of the valuable features, however, of their report, presented in May 1959, is that without perceptible straying from their terms of reference they have managed to survey, by implication, the whole field of employment of social workers and to make far-reaching proposals about social work training in general, although these are duly focused on the Local Authority health and welfare services. Even in this guise they are proposals for reorganizing the whole of social work training in this country, and, while ostensibly answering the specific question about the general purpose in-service trained worker in the Part III services, they are also answering the 50-year-old problem of how to staff the social work part of the social services of this country.

In 1953, the departmental view was probably threefold. First, that specialization had gone too far both for professional competence (i.e. the Family Service Units (F.S.U.) had arisen to deal with "problem families" almost entirely because multi-problem families seemed to need the attention of a single highly-skilled but non-generalized social worker and there was no place for such a worker), and for mobility of employment (i.e. a Duly Authorized Officer could not turn to blind welfare or to after-care in the intervals between committing mental patients for treatment). Second, that only trained social workers were effective with the most complicated cases and that a two-tier organization, therefore, was wanted so that trained social workers could be left on the true social work while some auxiliary dealt with routine. Third, that employing authorities would have to train the second-tier of workers within the service.

In 1959, Miss Younghusband's Working Party have produced their own

specialization—specialization by skill, based on need. They do not classify by function nor by clientèle. "The focus in social work should be on the social and personal needs of the individual or family, rather than a particular aspect of the problem. In our view less specialized functions would provide a better service and make more profitable use of the resources available." But they distinguish three categories of need which cut across the divisions along the lines of mental or physical handicap :

- (a) People with straightforward or obvious needs who require material help, some simple service, or a periodic visit.
- (b) People with more complex problems who require systematic help from trained workers.
- (c) People with problems of special difficulty requiring skilled help by professionally trained and experienced social workers.

To meet the three gradations of need three types of workers are to be employed: for straightforward needs a welfare assistant with a short but systematically planned in-service training; for more complex problems a social worker with a general social work training equivalent to 2 years full-time; for the third type professionally trained and experienced social workers as now qualified by a basic university course and a professional training to follow. These last workers are "normally to be used

- (a) to undertake initial interviews . . . in order to assess the kind of help needed, and the willingness of the individual to receive it;
- (b) to act as advisers or consultants to other social workers . . . and as supervisors (in the sense of teaching and guidance) of newly qualified or appointed social workers, and to assist with in-service training;
- (c) to provide a casework service for those needing the most skilled help. . . ."

All three classes of workers are general, in the sense that they may work indifferently with old people, unmarried mothers, the handicapped, the blind, although they may later, or in the course of training, learn more about some one or two particular techniques, for example, Braille. The hierarchy is not immutable as a worker could be selected for further training and move from one class to another.

The greatest innovation is that the second category should take a new qualification, a National Certificate in Social Work, in two parts, both courses being a combination of study and supervised practical exercises pursued in educational institutions outside the Universities; and that possessors of the National Certificate should rank with those who hold University diplomas or degrees and be accepted equally for the University professional courses. There would thus be two classes of social workers as there are two classes of teachers, those with University degrees and those from training colleges.

This recommendation might be as ruinous to social work as a profession as it has been to teaching, for a common training is the basis of professional unity. The working party justify the schism on the grounds of numbers. They estimate that there are at present 3,150 officers in social work posts in these Local Authority services, of whom 1,850 are welfare and mental officers, less than 200 of whom have a basic social science qualification.

THE YOUNGHUSBAND REPORT ON SOCIAL WORKERS

About 260 officers will be needed annually for replacement, 250 for expansion ; the annual intake for the two-year course would then in its first year be about 540, in its second 570. The working party seem to be assuming that it will be easier to set up and staff in new and unfamiliar institutions 30 new courses for about 40 students each than to distribute 1,000 new places between the existing 24 University social science departments who are only at present turning out 513 students yearly. Or else they may hold that University courses are insufficiently practical and vocational, or, alternatively, that social workers of the second class do not need such critical equipment as a University course may provide, and should be content to accept other people's findings like social workers on the Continent. Or do they assume that officers under the age of 40 or so who are to be seconded for training will not be able to satisfy University admission and examining standards ?

Much practical detail is worked out about a new policy of training grants, on the lines of probation and child care ; about generous secondments and systematic leave of absence and or refresher courses ; about promotion after training and the equivalents for older men ; and about generous provision for practical training facilities together with immediate steps to secure good supervisors. The essential safeguards to the whole scheme are two : first, that fully trained workers should indeed be engaged wherever the second and third classes are employed ; second, and of crucial importance as the one thing to keep the scheme together, is the proposed National Council for Social Work Training. Its functions would be :

- "(a) To secure the provision of, and to recognize, a sufficient number of training courses of the desired standard in order to prepare students for the national qualification, and to co-operate with Local Authorities and other employing bodies in providing field work training of the necessary standard.
- (b) To have an overall responsibility for the nature and standard of the tests for the qualifying award, to be known as the National Certificate in Social Work, and to make the award.
- (c) To co-operate with Universities and other organizations concerned with the provision of professional courses in social work.
- (d) To sponsor and assist with refresher courses of all kinds, including advanced courses and courses in supervision and social work teaching.
- (g) To assist Local Authorities with in-service training.
- (h) To facilitate the production of teaching materials, for example, case records."

Unlike the Cope Committee's opinion that the final authority for training and registration must be statutory, the Working Party's recommendations emphasize that the Council should be "an independent representative body with its own premises and staff and financed from public funds. This we regard as essential if it is to function effectively." It may be assisted by a small executive committee and a professional board.

Partly to experiment in training courses and methods, partly to collect suitable staff and to provide a forum for discussion and invention, the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

establishment of a Staff College is also recommended as an adjunct to the initial work of the National Council for Social Work Training.

These are the basic proposals in the report. However good they are on paper they will be made or marred in their implementation. In the rest of its 300 odd pages the report discusses, gives information and makes recommendations on most of the important problems of social work, including the need for better case records, and salaries, and co-operation. Finally Chapters 4 and 5 describe in what may become a *locus classicus* the function of social workers, why they need training, and how they relate to other professions in the field. The best short discussion of "social work" is in the questionnaire given in Appendix B to the Report.

QUARTERLY NOTES

Barrister Town Clerks

In his article in the Autumn 1958 issue on the Education of Town Clerks, Mr T. Headrick gave figures showing that of the 377 Clerks of County and Non-County Boroughs who completed his questionnaire, 83 per cent. had been trained as solicitors and less than 2 per cent. as barristers. He suggested that the reason for this lay in the Consolidated Regulations of the Inns of Court. These, he stated, prevent a Barrister being an employee of a solicitor and, therefore, as most Town Clerks are solicitors, barristers cannot take the junior legal posts which form the usual path to the office of Town Clerk. He also said that a barrister could not engage in conveyancing work and that once he becomes a Town Clerk, cannot, unlike the solicitor-trained Clerk, appear at any Court or Tribunal as counsel.

The first point is based on a misinterpretation of the Consolidated Regulations. In local government, apart from articulated clerks or pupils, all the staff are employees of the Local Authority and not of any particular officer. Therefore, though the Regulations prohibit barristers from being in the employment of solicitors, this does not mean that a barrister cannot serve on the staff of a Town Clerk's department if the Clerk is a solicitor. As regards conveyancing, the Solicitors' Acts state that it is unlawful for anyone to do conveyancing for reward unless he is a solicitor or a barrister. In practice, conveyancing is regarded as the function of solicitors but barristers employed on the staffs of Local Authorities may apply to the Bar Council for permission to undertake this work and we understand that the Bar Council may, in particular cases and at its discretion, dispense with its prohibition against barristers undertaking such work.

Public Libraries—A New Look

The origin and present structure of the public library service in this country is not as widely—or as fully—known as it should be. How many of us realize for instance that one man, Andrew Carnegie, gave nearly two million pounds for the building of public libraries between 1897 and 1913? Or that there are still even today fifteen Local Authorities with populations of over 60,000 which do not exercise library powers? Details of this kind are included in the recently published Report of a committee appointed by the Minister of Education in September 1957 entitled *The Structure of the Public Library Service in England and Wales* (Cmd. 660). The Committee of sixteen, under the chairmanship of Sir Sydney Roberts, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had the following terms of reference:

“To consider the structure of the public library service in England and Wales, and to advise what changes, if any, should be made in the administrative arrangements, regard being had to the relation of public libraries to other libraries.”

The main interest of the Report, however, lies not in such fragments of information but in the recommendations that the Committee makes. Of these, the basic one is that the public library service should remain one of the functions of Local Authorities but that the Minister of Education should have, in addition to his existing powers in relation to certain formal aspects of library work, "a general responsibility for the oversight of the public library service." Following from this are other recommendations concerning the structure of public library administration; every public library authority should have a statutory duty to provide an efficient service and the Minister (of Education) should have powers to enforce the discharge of this duty; Parish Councils should cease to be library authorities and in any Administrative County, except London, the County Council should be the library authority; and library matters should no longer be under the aegis of Education Committees but should be dealt with by a library committee to which the chief librarian has direct access and which in its turn is responsible directly to the Council. One of the recommendations likely to arouse controversy and disagreement is that independent library authorities should be expected to spend each year on the purchase of books (excluding binding) £5,000 or 2s. per head of the population whichever is the greater.

Recently the levying of fines and other charges by library authorities has aroused some interest as its legal justification seemed uncertain. The Committee recommend that no charge should be made for any public library service except for notification that a book or other material is available and for their retention beyond a prescribed period, and that the levying of these charges—and only of these—should be authorized by legislation.

The Committee also paid considerable attention to the problems of providing adequate staff and premises. While hinting that the salary scales were probably inaccurate, it felt unable to make any definite recommendations in this sphere because of the existence of negotiating machinery. But the Committee's views on premises were much more forthright: "most urban libraries are housed in buildings fifty or more years old, often inadequate and ill-suited for present-day needs." The Report shows that in 1955-56 (the latest available figures) only £711,000 out of £541 millions—a mere 0.13 per cent.—was spent in capital expenditure by Local Authorities on public libraries and museums.

Abstracts of Accounts: Coventry and Manchester, 1957-58

The published accounts of the Cities of Manchester and Coventry for 1957-58 provide a convenient means of comparing the standard form of published accounts recommended by the Chartered Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants with the traditional form.

As Chairman of the I.M.T.A. Committee which produced the recommended form, Dr Marshall, City Treasurer of Coventry, doubtless felt bound to practise what he preached and has devoted his admirable preface to

explaining the reasons for adopting that form. In it he claims as "the fact" that published final accounts of local authorities are "not so much dynamic 'management' documents for the information of the members, as an account—inevitably post-mortem—of the stewardship of the local authority to the public." Mr Page, the City Treasurer of Manchester and a member of the Institute, would perhaps be disposed to dispute this claim or, if accepting it, argue that the more conventional form which he follows better serves the purpose. There are, of course, other possible explanations. For example, he may still be getting round to making the change, for it no doubt would create a tremendous amount of work for his Department at a time when a great variety of urgent problems must press heavily upon it. (The thought that his Council's members might be unreceptive to change must, of course, be dismissed.)

If, then, published accounts are accepted as being addressed to the public, what advantages does the new form, as exemplified by Coventry, offer? Perhaps foremost, the relatively small number of headings under which income and expenditure are classified for each service and the standardization of those headings reduces the figures to a compass which the mind can at least try to grasp. Education may serve as an example, as the services provided in the two cities are more or less the same and central direction of itself imposes some measure of uniformity on local authorities. Coventry's expenditure of £4½ million is subdivided into fifteen main headings (primary education, secondary education, &c.), each of which is classified under about ten standard items (employees, premises, supplies, equipment and tools, &c.). In all, there are ninety-three items of expenditure. Manchester's expenditure of £10 million is subdivided into about the same number of main headings, most of which have numerous "objective" sub-headings (under Training of Teachers, for example, each training college appears as a sub-heading). The items under each sub-heading are analysed on uniform lines, but there are many more of them, some not particularly illuminating (what, for example, are special building works?). In all, there are nearly 750 items.

Throughout the two sets of accounts this difference of approach is manifest. Coventry provide a neat balance sheet of their Rate Fund on two pages and support this by statements of capital expended and discharged, of equal clarity, covering only four pages. Manchester take some seventy pages to cover the same ground and add to the reader's perplexities by separating the revenue and capital sections of the balance sheet by some thirty-five pages of detailed analysis of capital expenditure. Manchester, indeed, provide the reader with a veritable mine of information. Turning a few of the 700 odd pages of closely-packed figures at random, one learnt the cost of washing bodies and purchasing shrouds at the mortuaries, the contribution of primary schools to the British Ship Adoption Society, the outstanding debt of the waterworks undertaking in 1851, and the amount of loans due for repayment in the fifty-five years from 1877 to 2031. Beaten down by sheer weight of numbers, the mind succumbed, murmuring feebly "If this is an Abstract, what must the accounts themselves be like?"

The Manchester accounts may well be a useful handbook for the staff of the Treasurer's Department and perhaps of Committee Members. But if Dr Marshall is right in his view that a local authority's published accounts are addressed to the public, then their publication seems ill conceived. For such an audience, selection, clarity of presentation and an attractive lay-out and printing seem essential. Manchester make no concessions to the reader on these points. A dull cover, a bilious coloured paper, the inclusion of shillings and pence, and the absence of commas (how many millions are there in 21170193?) are examples of the stern discipline he gets.

If Mr John Tyldsley is not deterred by these obstacles, can he, in fact, glean more significant information from Manchester's Accounts than Lady Godiva can from Coventry's? A confident answer to this question could only be given by an exhaustive examination of the Manchester Accounts, but a cursory review suggests that he cannot. Coventry at least provide some useful background statistics and unit costs of their rate fund services. If Manchester had provided similar figures and had followed the recommended grouping of rate fund services, then the author's attempt to deduce from the two accounts the reasons for the difference of 2s. 6d. in their 1957-58 poundages might not have had to be abandoned at such an early stage. Nevertheless, that line of inquiry revealed one weakness in Coventry's accountability. They transferred an amount equivalent to nearly a 6d. rate from "balances." Neither the revenue account nor the balance sheet gave any clue as to what these mysterious "balances" are, and in this respect at least the accounts failed to meet the standard statutorily demanded of public companies.

One or two other points struck the writer in studying these Abstracts. It might help the reader if detailed statements followed consolidated and summary statements, rather than the other way round. Thus, the consolidated balance sheet might well follow the preface, and the rate fund revenue account summary appear in front of the detailed revenue account. An objective analysis of expenditure, at least for the rate fund as a whole, would be illuminating; Coventry's standard classification of expenditure makes this a very simple exercise. Again, additional cross-referencing would be helpful; for example, between rate income shown in the rate fund revenue account and in the rate collection account.

Finally, would an annual "Oscar" for the best Abstract be a suitable way for the Institute of Municipal Treasurers to commemorate its Charter?

C. A. FRENCH

Mr H. R. Page, City Treasurer of Manchester, comments as follows:

I am grateful for the opportunity to read Mr French's review of the Coventry and Manchester Abstracts of Accounts and to comment thereon. Two things I do not wish to do—to criticize Dr Marshall's Abstract or to defend my own. Mr French is right in believing that for the moment I have more pressing things to do than to undertake a revision of this publication. The last few years have witnessed some thoroughgoing changes here, but the

rapid march of events means that there is still much to be done. A revision of the Abstract must yield place to several, potentially more profitable, projects.

Do not overlook two points—first, an abstract of accounts has wide ramifications in departmental organization and practice. Variation of format and style is not, in my opinion (keen as I am on good typography and form design), worth undertaking without a review of what lies behind the Accounts. I am not disposed to tackle the job piecemeal.

Secondly, before the form of an Abstract can be settled, we must be quite clear about the job it is to do, and there are two very different schools of thought about this. Clarity, good format, and reasonable standardization provide common ground, but differences of opinion about purpose will produce widely different results. I see the Abstract as a professional record for the use of professionals. It cannot serve this purpose and, at the same time, be very enlightening to the ratepayers. Meeting the ratepayers' needs is a separate issue.

Correspondence

I am glad that Professor Morris-Jones in his review in your Winter issue, 1958, found "Some Aspects of the Indian Administrative System" rather more directly relevant for the seeker after the administrative truth. If he had compared the abridgment of Appleby Reports with what I have published, he would have easily discovered that by re-arranging the two reports, my abridgment omits hardly anything relevant to the seeker after administrative truth in India today. The same is true of Hicks *Public Finance in India* and Gorwala *Report*. I have omitted repetitions, personal irritations and irrelevancies to the issue in hand. I fail to discover by what process Professor Morris Jones came to the conclusion that my own 80 pages are "too much in the nature of a paraphrase of the reports." If my commentary on Public Enterprises, Treasury Control and Auditor-General, Public Service Commission, Parliamentary Control, Organization and Structure of Government and Administration and Departmental Committees can be considered either "mainly a paraphrase of the reports," or "too much in the nature of a paraphrase," it seems Professor Morris-Jones has curious ideas about a critical commentary. These comments assail Professor Appleby's essential position, cite administrative experience elsewhere (mainly English) as another yardstick and offer alternative suggestions for India. Professor Morris-Jones finds my arrangements odd. My little volume is intended as a small contribution towards understanding some aspects of the Indian administrative system *today*, hence the arrangement.

SRI RAM SHARMA,

Director, Institute of Public Administration, Sholapur (India).

24th April 1959.

Obituary

A. J. WALDEGRAVE

THE Institute has always been fortunate in the help and counsel given to it by public servants holding responsible positions in central and local government. A. J. Waldegrave, whose recent death we record with deep regret, was not the least of these. For many years, both before and after his retirement from the Post Office, he took a prominent part in the Institute's activities. For some years he served on the Council and then, after his retirement, undertook the Honorary Secretaryship in succession to H. G. Corner, who had been our devoted Honorary Secretary from the beginning.

He held this office from 1934 to 1938, and then concentrated on the research side of the Institute's work. He was Research Secretary, working with Sir Gwilym Gibbon, from 1938 to 1946, was one of the adjudicators for the Haldane medal and prize from 1940 to 1944, and, jointly with Frank Hart, produced the *Study in Hospital Administration*, which was published by the Institute in 1948. He also compiled the invaluable Index to the *Journal—Public Administration*—for the years 1923–42.

During all that period he was serving on one or other of the Committees of the Council, was a frequent reviewer of books in the *Journal* and from time to time made his own contribution to it. To the expansion of the work and influence of the Institute in that period he contributed no small part. He was one of those quiet, thoughtful men whose ideas compelled attention. There were no fireworks—one recalls, by way of contrast, the shock assaults of Gwilym Gibbon and the caustic witticisms of Sidney Larkin—but we had to listen carefully to what he had to say. His standards were high, his respect for facts great, and his judgments sound and only formed after due reflection.

He was for some years my deputy and most loyal and helpful colleague at the Post Office. I owe him much and am glad of the opportunity to pay this tribute to his memory.

HENRY N. BUNBURY

INSTITUTE NEWS

The Institute's Conference at Cambridge

A CONFERENCE on Administrative Organization for Economic Development was arranged by the Institute at Pembroke College, Cambridge, from 13th-24th July 1959. The Chairman was Professor D. T. Jack of the University of Durham. Among the 60 senior representatives of Commonwealth and Colonial Governments attending the Conference were 14 Ministers.

Members of the Conference were divided into Study Groups for the purpose of making a detailed examination of certain aspects of the central theme. Subjects considered by these Groups included development programmes, the problems of external aid, central government organization for economic planning, the roles of public corporations, private enterprise and co-operatives, individual participation in economic development, and general staffing problems.

After a week or so of discussions, each Study Group submitted a draft report for the consideration of the whole Conference. The Institute intends to publish the final reports in the near future.

Members' Conference, Copenhagen, 1960

As many members will know, it is becoming the custom for the Institute to hold an overseas conference for members and their wives every other year. Next summer it is hoped to take a party to Denmark. The programme will follow the lines of previous conferences and include a number of lectures and visits which should give members an impression of Danish public administration. The Conference will be held about the last week in August. It is anticipated that members will wish to stay for an extra week of sight-seeing before returning as a party to this country—in view of the long distance involved it was felt that many members would like to see a little more of Scandinavia than would be possible in a week. Details will be issued within the next few months.

Wiesbaden Congress of the I.I.A.S.

THE International Institute of Administrative Sciences arranged a Conference at Wiesbaden in late August. The Institute nominated Sir Albert Day, Vice-President of the I.I.A.S., Dr. E. N. Gladden, a member of the Institute's Executive Council, and Raymond Nottage, the Institute's Director, as delegates. One of the subjects dealt with was *Devolution of Powers to Autonomous Institutions, including Professional Bodies and Universities*. The Rapporteur in this subject was Dr. Brian Chapman of Manchester University.

The Institute's delegates met many friends from other countries, among them some of the members of the German section of the International Institute, who last year did so much to make the Royal Institute's own Conference at Bonn such a success.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation

By SIR GILMOUR JENKINS, K.C.B. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., New Whitehall Series. 231 pages. 21s.

THIS book is an admirably clear and readable account of the development and work of the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation (which, while excluding the word "Shipping"—a most important part of its functions—still names "Aviation" separately in its clumsy and tautological title). It covers compendiously the activities of what is said to look like three separate departments, in a perspective achieved by assigning roughly equal thirds of its text, apart from two or three general chapters, to Shipping (including the Ports), Inland Transport and Aviation. About one-sixth of the total is allotted to the methods adopted for ensuring the safety of passengers and those employed, the earliest recognized and least disputed function of the state in regard to Transport. The point is made that, where technical and social aspects of the problem differ so much, it is not practicable to apply uniform measures or procedures for this purpose, and the same point is made in dealing with other matters. "The Government machine is thus inevitably constructed . . . to deal with problems of the sea, problems of the land and problems of the air, and not with problems as they affect all three." If it goes too far to say that there are no principles common to more than one form of transport, a valuable feature of the book is undoubtedly its illustrations of differences which may be assumed too readily not to exist. The emphasis laid upon them and "the tenuousness of the thread" which binds the departments of the Ministry together do not seem, in the author's opinion, to nullify the advantage of their combination under one roof and under one head, and he thinks harmony better than unison.

In describing the complexity and wide variety of the Ministry's tasks, mention is inevitably made of many technical and operational problems which demand

attention, particularly in aviation. But students of public administration will look most eagerly for what so experienced and skilful an administrator as Sir Gilmour Jenkins has to say on the form of organization under which he has worked and on the considerations underlining its policy, so far as civil servants are concerned with them. He opens by observing that a former Minister was struck by the prominence given by the Press to the questions falling within his province. Many years earlier your present reviewer was confronted, soon after his appointment as Permanent Secretary of the original Ministry of Transport (not then concerned with either Shipping or Aviation), by an announcement in the Budget speech of 1927 that the Government had decided to abolish the Ministry as a separate department. The daily mass of Press cuttings about rail and road, including highways, reached the right quarters and among them the prospective legatees of the troublesome functions to be disintegrated. The Ministry was not abolished after all, but was left to carry through the mass of urgently needed and constructive legislation which is briefly described in Part III of this book.

After their successful war-time merger it would have been obviously wrong to divorce Shipping from Inland Transport; it must be inferred, though it is not conclusively demonstrated, that the further amalgamation with Civil Aviation in 1953 has justified itself. Some interesting comments are made upon the disturbances caused and problems created by amalgamations, which remain a "painful process" for the staff concerned, however smoothly it may appear externally to have been carried out.

Perhaps the strongest argument for merging Aviation with the rest of Transport is the great disadvantage of separate ministerial representation of a small,

BOOK REVIEWS

specialized service, however important it may be. Sir Gilmour neatly disposes of the compromise solution of brigading the separate departments under a single Minister by remarking that the amalgamation ended "an uneasy couple of years" during which this arrangement was tried. On another uneasy and abortive period, during which there existed the office of a Secretary of State for the Co-ordination of Transport, Fuel and Power, he is discreetly silent.

Among issues of policy it would be difficult to better the objective and authoritative statement of the contrast between the traditional policy of this country, ever since the Navigations Acts, in avoiding and objecting to any form of flag discrimination in Shipping and, on the other hand, the protectionist attitude which it has been forced, by circumstances and the political and economic actions of other countries, to adopt in the Air. It is not so clear why we should subsidize our own and foreign aviation by giving them expensive ground services below cost, when shipping and railways pay for their own, but critics of the situation will find the facts fairly set out in an interesting chapter on aerodrome policy.

What philosophy of administration guides the many hands which have worked over the text of this book? The main concern of the state in Transport is summarized as being Safety, protection of one form of transport against another and of British against foreign interests, and encouragement and assistance, of which provision of aerodromes and roads is given as an example. It is rightly assumed that transport should be self-supporting and not a burden on the general economy. There is indeed no reason why the trade and travel of the country as a whole should not meet their costs, but it is not made clear that this can only be true if transport is treated as a whole and not in disintegrated sections. It is also rightly assumed as axiomatic that the Ministry should avoid responsibility for actual operation of services, which should be left to public corporations, "chosen instruments" and private enterprise.

In pursuing their aims, the department is said, somewhat curiously, to be faced with a "conflict of loyalties." It must

therefore "steer a sensible course through the competing claims of traders, travellers, providers of and workers in transport, and the wider public." Sensible enough, provided this attitude does not lead to attempts to steer a course between the Scylla of Yes and the Charybdis of No along the channel of no action.

How finally does the department view the relationship between the Minister and the nationalized industries for which he is ultimately responsible? Apart from statutory powers, there must of course be advantages in close sharing of information as to the trend of events and in mutual confidence. But if, unknown to Parliament or public, informal contacts are demanded and conceded in matters of management and internal policy, there is a risk that the lines of responsibility will become blurred and that eventually the original non-partisan conception of a politically independent public corporation as an alternative to State Socialism might be undermined. These issues are only touched upon, but one notes the judgement expressed in the final chapter that recent experience has shown that the danger of too much interference by Government is much greater than that of too little. The author could not properly be dogmatic on such developments or on the best way of developing the relationships between Parliament and the nationalized industries through and in parallel with the Minister's responsibility, a subject which will become topical when the new Select Committee turns its attention to Transport.

We welcome this straight-forward narrative of the origins and functions of a Ministry which touches the lives of the ordinary citizen at so many points and are grateful for so lively an account of its multifarious tasks. And we are further grateful to Sir Gilmour Jenkins for telling us so much about the working of the collective mind of his department in a field full of unsolved problems which are more than administrative, but ought not to be regarded as political in any party sense.

HURCOMB

The Landmarks of Tomorrow

By PETER F. DRUCKER. Heinemann. Pp. 204. 21s.

It is difficult to review a book with which one is in whole-hearted agreement. This applies to the excellent book by Peter F. Drucker; it is full of thought and vision with a wealth of illustration from many fields.

The basic theme is concerned with the evolution in the 20th century of a new world order which requires drastic revaluation and adjustment of past thinking as to the destiny of mankind and the world in which he lives. It is extraordinary that this theme has not drawn the attention that it demands, despite the challenging events of this 20th century, and Mr Drucker will be doing a great service in focusing the problem in the manner portrayed in this book.

He contrasts the situation today with that of the Cartesian world of the early 17th century and also carries the approach back into the scholastic philosophy of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. This is, of course, the necessary approach if one desires to do justice to the scientific revolution which had its roots in the scholastic period and came to its first open development in the 17th century, commonly called the century of genius. In the 20th century we are witnessing the full emergence of the sequel and the fruits of nearly a millennium of man's endeavour "to know," in his relationship to the world in which he lives.

It might possibly be said that the author's loyalty to modern philosophy in his damaging criticisms of the Cartesian approach and his desire to make a break with the Cartesian principle are perhaps more of a gesture of deference to current philosophical argument rather than a valid root of the basic problem of today. He rightly argues that the scholastic era was concerned with the status of knowledge in its own right—a stern struggle which received its predominance by the Cartesian split of the mental pole from the physical universe: he continues with his emphatic demonstration of the 20th century as concerned with the emergence of "knowledge as power" and a power which must be applied with far-reaching intelligence of the highest order. But that result will

only be forthcoming, in the reviewer's judgement, by an equal emphasis on the Cartesian autonomy of the mental pole as the *fons et origo* of man's understanding and action: in short, the approach would be helped considerably by the injection of A. N. Whitehead's philosophy with its interplay between "presentational immediacy" and "causal efficacy."

The parallel emphasis of this book is on the primacy of spiritual values and that "wholeness" of life which is manifest at its best in the permeation of religious insight through the widest range of experience compatible with the individual mission in life. Here we are offered a survey of many fields of human enterprise—technological innovation, administrative planning, political organization, sociological principles, international and national orders including industrial development of the East without loss of its unique culture, education in all fields (not omitting adult education at all ages), economic policies, principles of industrial management and above all, the whole as hinging on human relations in the interplay of "Thou" and "I." This is done with a wealth of background and illustration and a power of visionary insight which will be both a revelation to the reader and a Socratic guide to the stimulation of the labours of thinkers in all these fields. A considerable stone is here cast into the pool of constructive thought and its ripples will reach far and wide.

This century has witnessed two world wars heralding the need for a basic reconstruction of human society and world relationships. *The Landmarks of Tomorrow* diagnoses the situation fairly and squarely, with all its drastic implications arising from the sudden emergence of knowledge and power as both absolute, and in their condominium opening the contrasted possibilities of absolute destruction or intelligent development. Its demand for a return to spiritual values is both timely and courageous: may it receive the widespread recognition and reception it so richly deserves!

HENRY SELF

Contempt of Court

A Report by Justice. Chairman, Lord Shawcross. Stevens. Pp. 42. 5s.

PRACTISING lawyers are more aware than most that the Englishman's precious liberties do not always receive adequate protection under the law, yet they are strangely reluctant to say so. It is all the more creditable that an experienced committee under the chairmanship of Lord Shawcross should, on behalf of Justice, the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, produce this report on *Contempt of Court*—for this subject inevitably touches closely Her Majesty's judges, whom lawyers are habitually loath to criticize.

It is a crime to bring the administration of justice into contempt or to interfere with or prejudice litigants during litigation. It is clearly necessary that such conduct be punished: for instance, newspapers must be restrained from conducting their own "trial" before the jury hear the case. On the other hand, the public interest in the proper administration of the law is equally important. This report shows that the law of contempt is too severe. A newspaper which neither knows nor could by taking reasonable care have known that a charge has been preferred against somebody about whom it has published a prejudicial article is guilty of this crime; the innocent distributor or newsagent is also guilty, although he would have the defence of "innocent dissemination" to libel. The

present law also prevents serious discussion of general problems: suppose a person has been sent to prison for attempted suicide—a newspaper which wished to make this the occasion for discussing whether attempted suicides should be so punished could not do so. Again, a decision of the Court of Appeal may require a statute to offset it; the matter may not be considered if an appeal to the House of Lords is pending.

The procedure in contempt is also unfair to the citizen. A judge whose case is criticized or in whose court a contempt is committed may himself try the case. And much more serious, there is no appeal from this trial without jury or from his sentence (which may be of imprisonment for a term of indefinite extent). And in the Chancery Division the accused is not even entitled to give oral evidence on his own behalf.

It is to be hoped that this report will bring home to the general public the defects of the law of contempt and lead to legislative reform. The committee has another positive proposal: that no prosecution for contempt outside the court be instituted without the consent of the Attorney-General—perhaps they could turn next to the exercise by the Attorney-General of his discretionary powers.

H. STREET

American Constitutional Law

By R. J. TRESOLINI. Macmillan. Pp. 665. £2. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a text book on American Constitutional Law for undergraduates other than law students. The author has addressed his mind to the peculiar difficulties of teaching a legal subject to non-lawyers. His method is most interesting. Each chapter begins with an introductory survey of the law and leading cases, with an appropriate account of historical development. Then lengthy extracts (including dissenting opinions) from the leading cases follow. Legal terms are explained so that the student is able to assess the merits of the opinions for himself. A most useful innovation is a

brief description of the life of each important justice of the Supreme Court; throughout the student is shown how the attributes of particular justices have affected their opinions. The cases and extracts are well chosen, the introductions clear and succinct.

No doubt the book will be valuable for the American student, but what is its value to the English reader? It would be suitable for a course on the constitution when the students were already familiar with the outlines of American Government; such students would benefit greatly from the case extracts, for American

Law reports are not readily accessible here. Whereas the more general reader might prefer a purely narrative account, there may well be some of these who will relish the chance which this book affords of studying the actual judicial opinions in the leading cases.

The only stated date is 1959. This is misleading, for none of the important

decisions of the Supreme Court of the last two years, such as *Cooper v. Aaron* (Little Rock), the passport cases of *Dayton v. Dulles* and *Kent v. Dulles*, or the self-incrimination cases such as *Lemmer v. Casey*, which modify the materials cited in the text, is included.

HARRY STREET

Philanthropy in England: 1480-1660

By W. K. JORDAN. George Allen & Unwin. Pp. 410. 42s.

THIS book has as a sub-title, *A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations*. It is an examination of the remarkable change that took place in the pattern of men's attitude in England between the close of the middle ages and the establishment of the modern era, towards the problems of the care of the sick, the relief of poverty, the cure of unemployment and the provision of education. It is a careful statistical and analytical study, shedding much new light on an old problem.

Little enough is taught by or to anyone but specialists about the origin and development of early "welfare" legislation. Until our own times poor-law administration, for example, was firmly based on the Elizabethan statutes of 1597-1601, and almost nothing—apart from the early Tudor "settlement" legislation of 1495 and 1504—bridged the gap from the Statute of Labourers in 1388. The whole period, embracing so many changes—social, economic and religious—is shot through and through with controversy, and particularly religious controversy. What effect did the secularizing forces of the Reformation have upon the relief of the needy poor? In what way was the care of the sick affected by the dissolution of the monastic houses? The answers so frequently are immediately related to the side of the fence from which they are given. How, therefore, is it possible to get behind the controversial writings of the present and the past, to find out what the people of that period really thought of their own times? What was their judgement on their past, and their hopes for their future?

Professor Jordan has tackled this familiar problem from quite a new angle.

He thinks that what men *did* at the time about the relief of poverty, the provision for the sick and the endowment of education, is altogether more significant than what they *thought* they thought. He seeks, therefore, a method of measuring what in fact they *did*; he seeks a method that should produce a mass of summable and analysable fact, capable of rendering significant answers to specific questions. He finds all he needs for this purpose in the sum total of disposable wealth, income and capital, willed at death by the particular economic and social classes, for the benefit of different religious and secular causes, during the separate significant periods, during the time just before the close of the middle ages (1480) to the time of the Restoration (1660)—that is to say from the collapse of mediaeval society to the rise of the modern era.

"When men come to draw their wills they express their aspirations with a kind of ultimate honesty, and when they leave charitable bequests they arm these aspirations with effective and enduring sanctions."

Professor Jordan goes therefore to the records of the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury and York, the various District and other Probate Registries, and numberless county record offices up and down the country. From these he takes a representative sample of wills, but a sample consisting of many thousands, covering as a matter of fact over one-third of the whole population of England, and over one-half of its disposable wealth. This immense mass of raw material Professor Jordan has digested into summaries, and has compared the number and value of the bequests period by period, county by county, by social class

BOOK REVIEWS

of testator, and by nature of benefaction.

This method provides, he maintains, a barometer—at once sensitive and accurate—of the powerful forces of historical change at work in English society: it provides, moreover, a most intimate understanding of the changing pattern of English social aspirations which produced changes that were in their total effect nothing short of revolutionary. The total of Professor Jordan's columns, the inexorable force of his mere arithmetic, the cold logic of the curves of his graphs, are utterly convincing. It is clear that already before the Dissolution the generality of society had lost confidence in the competence of the monasteries to care for the sick, poor or aged. A religion which could not understand the causes of poverty could do nothing to cure it: it therefore idealized it. Alms—casual, ineffective and undisciplined—were enjoined as a religious duty for the well-to-do, rather than as a form of relief for the poor. Even before the Reformation, therefore, the majority of men's minds—in so far as they expressed them in their last wills and testaments—were turning away from the church in their hopes for the future. Even before 1480 benefactions to monastic foundations sharply declined, and they "literally dried up well before their properties were expropriated to the Crown." Not only were merchants, tradesmen, artisans, husbandmen and the gentry tending to leave less and less to the church for church repairs, church building and prayers, but so also were the churchmen themselves, the greater prelates as well as the lower clergy. Men quite untouched by heresy doubted the effectiveness of ecclesiastical charity. This change in the direction and structure of men's aspirations seems now to have been altogether more conclusive in its effect than has hitherto been supposed.

This present study traces out from a wealth of available detail the development of the moral and social responsibility in English society, after the failure—indeed, the collapse—of medieval life. After the breakdown of feudal polity, the firm establishment of Tudor society facilitated the emergence of a responsible gentry and a powerful urban aristocracy. This resulted in a momentous shift of men's primary motivation from religious preoccupations to secular concerns. There

was therefore a noticeable shift—a shift that can be exactly calculated and graphed—in benefactions, away from prayers and charities, for example, firstly towards the outright relief of the poor, and later with really massive endowments designed to eradicate the very causes of poverty. With experience in this kind of administration, and as the character and cause of poverty came to be better understood, the benefactions extended to educational endowments, apprenticeship schemes and provisions for various forms of municipal betterment and rehabilitation. All this resulted in the gradual assumption of a national responsibility.

Those interested primarily in public administration or administrative history will ask how exactly these schemes—in the aggregate truly immense—were administered. Professor Jordan finds the answer in the evolution of the charitable trust. In other words, the care of the poor was in the main neither with the parish nor with the county. It was with other agencies. He sees in the charitable trust—an invention of equity—a uniquely competent instrument for the distribution of private property, for it provided a perfect mechanism for the vesting of charitable endowments without the necessity to secure either from the Crown or Parliament any such instrument as a charter of incorporation.

A review of the Tudor problem of vagrancy, a conspectus of relevant Tudor legislation, a study of the establishment of the parish as the unit of administration, results in the view that the whole body of statute law was there only to be invoked should the voluntary services in the form of the charitable trust fail of their purpose. An extensive study of surviving parochial records, the accounts of local overseers, churchwardens, constables and other parish officers, suggests that only relatively very seldom was a parish rate struck under the familiar legislative provisions that appear in every textbook on social history. Indeed in no year during the survey did more than seven per cent. (on the most liberal estimate) of the vast amount expended on the care of the poor, derive from tax sources.

This present volume is the first of a series to be given to the topic. In this volume the main conclusions are generally stated. Later volumes are to be devoted

to detailed county analyses. Those who have met Professor Jordan in the course of his work have been struck by his buoyancy and basic optimism, and most of all by his sheer happiness in finding the evidence of so much charitable feeling in the world. This book fully reflects this buoyancy and happiness.

Apart from these qualities, however, the book will be keenly discussed wherever there is any interest in the origins of the welfare state, and the promised further volumes will be awaited with impatience.

R. C. JARVIS

Principles of Local Government Law

By C. A. CROSS. Sweet and Maxwell. Pp. xi+487. 35s.

IT might possibly be doubted whether a new general account of local government law is needed. We already have Hart's *Introduction to the Law of Local Government and Administration*, Oakes and Dacey's *Local Government and Local Finance*, W. E. Jackson's *Structure of Local Government* and many others, not to mention the more detailed and technical works like Lumley's *Public Health* and Macmillan's *Local Government Law and Administration*. But yet the publication of this new work is amply justified on two grounds: first, because it incorporates the changes in the law brought about by the Local Government Act, 1958, and other recent legislation, and, secondly, because it differs substantially from any of the previous books on the subject: it is essentially a legal text book, setting out clearly and simply not only the contents of the statutes, but also the leading decisions of the Courts and the principal statutory instruments affecting local government. No other text book deals so adequately with the cases and rules and regulations in so small a compass.

In such a work it must always be particularly difficult to select the significant cases out of the vast mass of recorded decisions. Inevitably Mr Cross has had to omit many important cases, but it is to be regretted that among the cases referred to there is no mention of the judgment of Caldecote, L.C.J., in the case of the Finsbury deep shelters, for Lord Caldecote there expressed very definite views on a town clerk's status and duties on which Mr Cross's opinion would be of great interest. It would also have been interesting to read his views on the two cases—*A.G. v. Aspinall* and *A.G. v. Wilson*—which established the rule that borough councillors are trustees

of the borough fund. What exactly the implications of this are has always seemed a bit obscure. On the other hand his discussion of the problems of *ultra vires* and the series of cases culminating in *A.G. v. Leicester Corporation* is particularly interesting, even though he admits that after all the position remains obscure.

Though Mr Cross writes as a lawyer, he is also a town clerk, and at times he allows himself to consider administrative rather than purely legal matters; for example, his chapter on central control deals admirably not only with the law but also with "the conventions of control—the 'pressures' of advice, consultations, practice codes, memoranda and circulars which explain or amplify a Minister's policy." In this he shows a just appreciation of both sides of the question, but yet clearly shows that he regards some of the controls as unnecessary and fussy; he criticizes the undue authoritarianism of section 68 of the Education Act, 1944, and throws doubt on the legal significance (if any) of section I of that Act. It is a pity that the legal framework of the book prevented him from exploring these questions even more fully than he did, for he is obviously qualified by knowledge and experience to do so very effectively.

There can be no doubt that this book will be of great value to the people for whom it is primarily written—those who are studying local government law for examination purposes. But it will also be very valuable, as a reference book rather than a text book, for the councillor and municipal officer.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

The Constitution and Powers of Parish Councils and Parish Meetings

By CHARLES ARNOLD-BAKER. National Association of Parish Councils. 2s.

THIS is a new edition of the handbook of the National Association of Parish Councils, first published in 1954, brought up to date by the secretary of the Association. It includes the alterations made in the law by the Local Government Elections Act, 1956, and by the Parish Councils Act, 1957, but does not attempt (save in passing) to deal with the re-organization as envisaged in the Local Government Act, 1958. This is a pity, as it would have been interesting to read Mr Arnold-Baker's views on the proposed new glorified parish councils, or rural boroughs—centaur-like creatures which are to have the head of a borough but the body of a parish council. But as yet none of these has been created so perhaps their omission from this handbook is justified.

In his much fuller treatise on *Parish Administration* (reviewed in *Public Administration*, Winter, 1958), Mr. Arnold-Baker dealt with the law and constitution of parish councils very adequately and clearly in 432 pages; now he tries to compress the greater part of the same subject into 40 pages. This is convenient for the parish councillor, but inevitably leads to some parts being so much simplified as to be misleading. For example, it is stated (p. 33) that "a parish council

may provide and maintain . . . libraries and museums." In fact the power to maintain a library is limited to those parishes which had adopted the Public Libraries Acts before 23rd December 1919, and have not since relinquished their powers—apparently only seventeen parishes out of a total of about 10,900.

So also (p. 31) it is stated that "by adopting sec. 3 of the Parish Councils Act, 1957, a parish council or a parish meeting may provide public lighting for the whole or part of the parish," but in the fuller volume (p. 175) it is made clear that the power to adopt this section is not vested in the parish council, but only in the parish meeting.

These are minor matters, but they raise the question whether it is possible to cover the subject adequately and safely in so small a space. Perhaps the answer is that this handbook is useful for the parish councillor, but that the chairman and the clerk must have the more complete *Parish Administration* on their desks. With this safeguard, the revised handbook will clearly be of real value to a very large number of people, and is to be welcomed for its simplicity and clarity.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

The Spirit of British Administration

By S. H. SISSON. Faber. Pp. 162. 21s.

THIS is a most elegantly written study of some of the characteristics of government administration in Britain. There is also some discussion of continental practice which throws into relief the peculiarities of our habits by drawing attention to the ways in which we act and think differently from our neighbours. Indeed it is suggested that we are the exception, they the rule.

Certain aspects of this book must command respect. The reflections on the conditions in which the British civil servant works, so often under the shadow of Parliament, with all the time the possibility of question and inquiry of

which Ministers must bear public responsibility, are very illuminating. This is, of course, true of the work of most administrators in those departments whose functions are of the kind which are comprehensible to Members of Parliament and the electorate. Whether the necessity of justifying decisions in plain words is such a powerful discipline in departments whose work is security-shielded, concerned with "high policy" or governed by complex technical considerations is much more doubtful, and this point hardly receives the attention it deserves.

Mr Sisson rightly emphasizes the differences between the processes of law

and of administration, stressing that the latter is a kind of conversation which the administrator holds with the citizen, politician and his colleagues. (It is therefore desirable that they all speak roughly the same language, for if not government becomes impossible.) There are some shrewd thrusts at the arguments of Lord Hewart and successive lawyers who have espoused his views. This study will also evoke much sympathy as a defence of the amateur in administration, the cultured man of affairs who can turn his mind and pen to anything. The discussion of training for administrators takes too much for granted the virtues of the present system and underestimates the possibilities of a *via media*, ensuring at the outset some knowledge of the functions and operations of government in the broad sense, but avoiding reliance on a legal discipline characteristic of German and to a lesser extent of French practice, which in any case could hardly be assimilated to our educational and legal systems.

Yet in spite of the shrewdness of many of these comments on British administration, there is much that is profoundly misleading in this book. Many of the implications of the growth of government activity and of the different character of much of this are overlooked, with the result that the positive initiative and influence of many civil servants (and not only of administrators) is underestimated. For example, how would the evidence of the Ministry of Health to the Royal

Commission on Mental Health fit into this picture of self-effacement? Or the role of various experts in the field of defence? In fact the description at the beginning of the book, and repeated in varying contexts throughout, of the attitude of mind proper to a civil servant amounts to a caricature. Perhaps this is unavoidable, since the whole argument appears to rest on a view of the state derived mainly from Hobbes, but partly from Machiavelli, with their harshnesses smoothed away by urbanity and reasonableness. The consequence is that the analysis is by no means as empirical as it seems to be. Delight in the play of relationships, eschew questions of value is the lesson preached. Fortunately there are still many administrators to whom questions of value are often as important as relationships. Acceptance of Mr Sisson's doctrine leads logically to obedience to whatever powers are ordained, at best to a quiescent process of keeping the State machine ticking over, at worst to abnegation of responsibility. Despite an important saving clause at the end of the first chapter the train of the argument, although so subtle and delicate, abounds in statements which verge on the grotesque. And over and over again one feels that if the underlying political philosophy were modified, a great deal of this analysis of administration would have to be drastically altered. Perhaps this is after all really a satirical *tour de force*.

N. JOHNSON

The Welfare State in New Zealand

By J. B. CONDLIFFE. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959. Pp. 396. 35s.

THE reader who turns to this book mainly to learn about the benefits in cash and services which the New Zealand welfare state provides and the administrative machinery by which they are distributed will be rather disappointed. It is primarily an account of the development and structure of New Zealand's economy with reference to the welfare purposes of the State. It is concerned more with the economics of welfare than with its nature and machinery. As Professor Condliffe explains in the foreword, this book is an elaboration of the later chapters of the revised edition of his *New Zealand in the*

Making, in which he analyses "the economic forces that lay behind this conversion of an empty land into a productive and prosperous community." The new edition of that book deals mainly with the period before 1918, but also with some aspects of the subsequent decades; the present book deals mainly with economic problems and policies since 1918, but it contains some detailed descriptions of certain earlier developments and a final chapter on overseas policies that might have been better placed in the other book.

The best chapters are those which are

mainly economic: "The Impact of Depression," "Planned Insulation," and "The Structure of the Economy." Professor Condliffe analyses the nature and problems of an economy that relies on highly mechanized pastoral industries to provide wealth and yet needs secondary industries to provide employment for which the primary and tertiary industries are insufficient. He describes fully and assesses judiciously the general economic and financial policies of different governments. He is less consistently successful when he deals with other economic and social matters. The chapter on the "Economic Functions of Government" is loosely organized; the public trust and insurance departments get a good deal of attention, but public works, transport and tourism get very little; the departmental organization for regulating the economy is mentioned too summarily and the remarks about the Civil Service are too brief and somewhat inconsistent (viz. the comments on arbitrariness and officiousness on pp. 220 and 236). On the other hand, the chapter on "State Regulation of Wages" is a well-balanced

account of an important and controversial aspect of State intervention in the economy.

The title (although not the foreword) of the book implies that the chief chapter would be that on the "Social Welfare State." The various cash benefits are adequately treated and so are medical services and housing, although the discussion of housing is not accompanied by any comments on the problem of town and country planning. There are short sections on the treatment of delinquents and criminals and on the services for women and children, but education is ignored except in occasional remarks scattered through the book. The problems of organizing the administrative agencies (other than the health service) and of training social workers are neglected. It is unfortunate that the problems of social and public administration are treated so much less well than the history and organization of the economy which supports the Welfare State. It is to be hoped that in the next edition Professor Condliffe will make his account of the superstructure as good as his account of the substructure.

PETER CAMPBELL

The Civil Service in India

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958. Pp. xx+328.

Role of Higher Civil Service in India

By R. DWARKADAS. Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958. Pp. vi+258.

THESE books provide an interesting contrast. Dr Roy looks back, with a critical and discerning eye, at the origins of India's present administrative arrangements. He traces their growth with some precision and his few comments on their implications for the future are restrained and, on the whole, convincing. Dr Dwarkadas has, according to the blurb, set himself the more ambitious task of re-assessing the position of the Indian Administrative Service (as it is now called) and redefining its role. "And this," says the blurb, "he has done admirably well, penetrating through the thick walls of ignorance and silence that make the working of government organization a dark mystery to the layman." The book does not live up to this claim. One is never entirely convinced that its author really understands

what the bureaucrats are up to. But he makes a number of useful points, and poses a number of interesting questions.

Reading these books, one is struck not only by the extent of India's borrowings from Whitehall but by their almost haphazard nature and by the oddness of some of the adaptations. As Dr Roy says in his introduction, the administrative traditions of the Indian Civil Service (which were themselves adapted from United Kingdom precedents) "are already being overlaid by other practices." But they remain influential, and it will be some time before the Indian Administrative Service develops a style of its own. Even when it does, it seems likely that some at least of the old ingredients will be retained. The quasi-independent Public Service Commission, introduced rather late in

India, and then, it seems, to protect a waning bureaucracy from the vagaries of increasingly powerful Indian Ministers, has taken firm root. So has the competitive competition—the written, as distinct from the oral, part of which is particularly valued in India as a brake on social or communal—or, no doubt, political—jobbery. So, too, has the idea of recruiting a *corps d'élite* of intelligent young men of good education direct from their university. "The whole principle of our Administrative Service," says Professor Sidhanta, in a foreword to Dr Roy's book, "is that the agile mind of the officer will enable him to fit himself in almost any sphere of administrative work." Dr Dwarkadas, it is true, appears to be less enthusiastic about this proposition, and, laying some emphasis on the new tasks thrown up for officials by the economic and social policies which the Government is currently pursuing, stresses the value of recruits, including those of more mature years, with training in the social sciences and with actual administrative experience of various kinds. In fact, of course, many of the highest posts have been filled, since independence, by a variety of expedients, similar to those which had to be resorted to here during and shortly after the war.

Both authors lay some stress on training, and it is interesting to note that in India the young administrative recruits begin with a full year in an administrative training school in Delhi. They study there such subjects as the Constitution of India, Five-Year Plans, Indian Criminal Law, Administrative History of India, General Principles of Economics, General Principles of Public Administration including District Administration and Governmental Organization, Hindi and a regional language.

They also make a number of visits, are attached to army units for a fortnight in active service conditions, "learn how to ride horses and get acquainted with Motor Mechanics." Doubtless this new Haileybury will help, in the course of time, to equip the Indian Administrative Service with traditions appropriate to the work it has to do.

In the meantime, Dr Roy and Dr Dwarkadas are both greatly concerned with the state of relations between officials and their Ministers. They point out that there is in India no very strong tradition of obedience to Ministers, or of advising and protecting them in the face of parliamentary criticism. And they add that Ministers, for their part, are not by any means as considerate as one might wish to their senior officials or as mindful as their counterparts in the United Kingdom have traditionally been of the convention of Ministerial responsibility. These things will, one hopes, improve with time—though this is something which it would be unwise to take for granted. One hopes, too, that the tendency towards minor, and sometimes major, corruption which Dr Dwarkadas dwells on will not increase, and that it will be unnecessary to adopt his drastic solution—consisting of an Administrative Intelligence Bureau under a High Court Judge, charged with the detection of those "infractions of administrative integrity" which, as he puts it, "though they operate in silent and secret channels sometimes get involved in secret chatters in official canteens and corridors." The disease would be virulent indeed which began to justify such a remedy.

FRANK DUNNILL

BOOK NOTES

Productivity and Economic Incentives

By J. P. DAVISON and others. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1958. P. 306. 35s.

FIVE of the eight chapters of this book are mainly case studies of conditions in various industries—manufacturing, laundries, and co-operative societies—where incentive bonus schemes have been introduced. The main emphasis throughout is upon the attitude towards them of the workers rather than descriptions of the details of the schemes. The remaining three chapters are more general and deal with past and present incentive study, trade union and labour reactions, and a summary of the conclusions which are not entirely straightforward: productivity can be increased by economic incentives, but these in turn are liable to cause unrest which may bring a loss of productivity.

Survey Methods in Social Investigation

By C. A. MOSER. Hinemann, 1958. Pp. xiii+352. 35s.

A fourth leader from *The Times*—charitably quoted by Mr Moser—begins, "It has been ascertained—and not a moment too soon—that out of 1,200 Somersetshire children between the ages of three and fourteen only two-thirds were present when their shoes were bought." Mr Moser's book, based on lectures he gave at the London School of Economics and Political Science, gives a lucid explanation of how information of this and other kinds is obtained, the inferences that can be drawn from it; and of course makes it clear that most samples and surveys are undertaken with a far more useful aim than is apparent at first sight in the case of Somersetshire footwear. A most valuable feature is the clear and detailed exposition of the different techniques of sampling.

The British Parliament

Reference Pamphlet No. 33. By the Central Office of Information. H.M.S.O. Pp. 27. 2s.

THIS pamphlet conforms well to the excellent standard set by its predecessors in the series which describe aspects of British life. For a brief introduction to the British Parliament it would be difficult to find anything better. The role of the Queen, the party system, the Houses of Lords and Commons and parliamentary procedures, control and privilege are all described and the reader is directed in a bibliography to other works which treat these subjects in greater detail.

Personnel Management in Perspective

By L. URWICK. Institute of Personnel Management. Pp. 23. 4s.

BASED on an address to open the sixteenth Annual Conference, entitled "Personnel in Perspective," of the Personnel Association of Toronto, this occasional paper pleads Colonel Urwick's case that even now most businesses have still not integrated personnel management into the core of their organization. "Managing," he says, "is getting things done through people." And accordingly personnel managers must be given the right role to play within their organization and the authority to be able to play it adequately.

Statistical Yearbook 1958

United Nations. Pp. 612. 57s. (cloth), 46s. (Paper).

THE 187 tables of this bilingual (English and French) volume present authoritative international statistics on demographic, economic, financial, social and cultural subjects and generally cover the immediate pre-war period, 1948, and some seven most recent years. Its territorial scope is reflected in the alphabetical country index which lists nearly 250 geographical areas. As a statistical guide to anything from the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

number of cinemas per head of population in Nigeria to the amount of fish caught in 1938 in Indonesia this volume is incomparable.

Les collectivités locales en Tunisie

By MOHAMED SNOUSI.

Le gouvernement local en Suède

By ARNE WAHLSTRAND.

Le gouvernement local au Brésil

By DR DIOGOHORDELLO DE MELLO.

Le gouvernement local en Thaïlande

By MALAI HUVANANADANA and JOHN W. RYAN.

THESE four pamphlets, of an average length of 25 pages, are available free on request to the Social Sciences Department, UNESCO House, Place de Fontenoy, Paris vii. They form part of a series entitled *Monographies sur les systimes de gouvernement local*. Three of them start with a brief historical survey; they all

give — briefly — information not readily accessible elsewhere.

Manpower

By H. M. D. PARKER. H.M.S.O. and Longmans. Pp. 535. 40s.

Labour in the Munition Industries

By P. INMAN. H.M.S.O. and Longmans. Pp. 461. 35s.

Factories and Plant

By WILLIAM HORNBY. H.M.S.O. and Longmans. Pp. 421. 37s. 6d.

The Economic Blockade, Volume II

By W. N. MEDLICOTT. Pp. 727. 50s.

THESE four volumes are further additions to the now almost complete United Kingdom Civil Series of the *History of the Second World War* which is edited by Sir Keith Hancock. They are, as is to be expected, completely authoritative and comprehensive, dealing with all aspects of their subjects.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

AIR SERVICES

Appropriation Accounts 1957-58. H.C. 61. pp. v, 44. 1959. 3s.

ARMY

Appropriation Account 1957-58. H.C. 62. pp. vii, 43. 1959. 3s.

CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

New Contributions to Economic Statistics. Reprinted from "Economic Trends" 1957-58. pp. 53. 1959. 4s. 6d.

CENTRAL TRANSPORT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Annual Report for the year ended 31st December 1958. H.C. 193. pp. 19. 1959. 1s.

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS

106th Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales. *Report of proceedings during 1958.* pp. 47. 1959. 2s. 6d.

CIVIL ESTIMATES, 1959-60

Civil Estimates and Estimates for Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March 1960.—Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. H.C. 79. Memo. pp. 47. 1959. 3s.

COMMONWEALTH ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Commonwealth Trade, 1950 to 1957. A memorandum. pp. 61. 1959. 3s. 6d.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND and BRITISH HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Mental Health Legislation. Report by a Committee appointed by the Council. pp. 14. 1958. 1s.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

National Physical Laboratory. *Report for 1958.* pp. vii, 134. 1959. 8s.

Report of the Research Council for the year 1958. Cmnd. 739. pp. 61. 1959. 3s. 6d.

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

Ministry of Education Circulars and administrative memo. 1st April 1957 to 1st March 1958. 1958. 15s.

Report of the Advisory Committee on Further Education for Commerce. pp. vi, 34. 1959. 2s. 6d.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF

Cost of prescribing. Final report of the Committee. pp. viii, 108. 1959. 6s.

Hospital O and M Service Reports—Medical records and secretarial services. pp. 32. 1959. 2s.

Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services. Report of the Working Party. pp. xi, 375. Tabs. (1 folding). 1959. 15s.

Training of District Nurses. Report of the Advisory Committee. pp. 13. 1959. 1s.

HOME OFFICE

Report of the Committee on Remuneration and Conditions of Service of Certain Grades in the Prison Services. Cmnd. 544. pp. 51. 1958. 2s. 6d.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Councils and their Houses. Management of Estates. pp. iv, 38. 1959. 2s. 6d.

LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, MINISTRY OF

Duties, Organization and Staffing of the Medical Branch of the Factory Inspectorate. Cmnd. 736. pp. 10. 1959. 9d.

Method of Construction and Calculation of the Index of Retail Prices. pp. 40. 1959. 2s. 6d.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

The Operation and Finance of Part I of the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949, and the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Comments and Recommendations made by the Advisory Committee.—The Eighth Report of the Law Society. pp. 58. 1959. 3s. 6d.

NATIONAL COAL BOARD

Report and Accounts for 1958. Vol. I.—Report. H.C. 158. pp. vi, 56. 3s. 6d. Vol. II.—Accounts and Statistical Tables. H.C. 159. pp. iv, 153. 9s. 6d.

NEW TOWNS ACT, 1946

Reports of the Development Corporations for the period ended 31st March 1958. Aycliffe, Basildon, Bracknell, Corby, Crawley, Cwmbran, Harlow, Hemel Hempstead, Peterlee, Stevenage, Welwyn Garden City, Hatfield. H.C. 260. pp. iii, 467. Illus., folding map. 1958. £1 2s.

ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

A Standardized System of National Accounts. 1958 edition. pp. 104. 1959. 6s. 6d.

POWER, MINISTRY OF

Capital Investment in the Coal, Electricity and Gas Industries. Cmnd. 713. pp. 7. 1959. 6d.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Education in Scotland in 1958. Cmnd. 740. pp. 122. 1959. 6s.

SCOTTISH OFFICE

Department of Health for Scotland. *Report for 1958.* Cmnd. 697. pp. 109. 1959. 5s. 6d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES, 1958-59

Fifth special report—Running costs of hospitals (observations of the Minister of

Health and comments of the Committee thereupon). H.C. 124. pp. ix, 18. 1959. 2s.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE

Report. H.C. 92—I. pp. lix, 227. 1959. 13s.

STATIONERY OFFICE

Government Publications, 1958. pp. ix, 477-701, xlv. 1959. 2s.

THE TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR SCOTLAND

Annual Report for the year ended 31st December 1958. H.C. 194. pp. 11. 1959. 9d.

TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

Annual Report for the year ended 31st December 1959. H.C. 195. pp.

TREASURY

Financial Statement (1959-60). H.C. 132. pp. 32. 1959. 2s.

National Income and Expenditure, 1953 to 1958. Preliminary Estimates. Cmnd. 712. pp. 13. 1959. 1s.

Organization and Methods Division.

The Practice of O and M. pp. iv, 51. Third (amended) impression. 1958. 6s.

United Kingdom Balance of Payments, 1946-57. pp. iv, 78. 1959. 10s.

United Kingdom Balance of Payments, 1956-1958. Cmnd. 700. pp. 25. 1959. 1s. 3d.

UNESCO

International Bibliography of Sociology— Vol. VII. pp. 270. 1959. 25s.

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